

## **DOCTORAL THESIS**

### **Subtitling culture**

### **the reception of subtitles of fifth generation Chinese films by British viewers**

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**Subtitling Culture: The Reception of Subtitles of Fifth-Generation  
Chinese Films by British Viewers**

**by**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of PhD**

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## ABSTRACT

This research intends to study the effect of English subtitles of Chinese films on British viewers. For this purpose, this thesis gives a theoretical background on the key notion of effect and its use in Translation Studies. It provides a textual analysis of the subtitles of a selected film corpus and presents a reception study based on this corpus. Three of Chinese director Zhang Yimou's films, *Red Sorghum* (1987), *Ju Dou* (1990) and *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992), are used as case studies, both for the textual analysis and for the study of end-users' reactions.

Contrastive textual analysis of the original Chinese dialogues and the English subtitles in the selected films shows how culture-specific references in the Chinese source text have been translated in English through subtitles. Through this analysis, this research seeks to ascertain whether the translation approaches and strategies followed in these subtitled Chinese films allow for the transmission of all the intended culture-specific references, and if so, to what extent. More specifically, it considers (a) potential differences between the representation of Chinese culture in the source films and that which emerges from the subtitles; (b) recurring patterns of subtitling in Chinese films regarding cultural representation; (c) the potential effect that translation may have on audiences.

The originality of this research lies in the emphasis on "effect", which generates the need for reception studies, and in combining the research method of textual analysis with empirical testing on the reception of the subtitled Chinese films by actual audiences. A questionnaire is conducted with both native Chinese (resident in the UK and with Chinese as their first language) and British viewers (resident in the UK and with English as their first language), in an attempt to provide an insight

into the effect of the subtitled Chinese films. Analysis of the data from the questionnaire presents how British and Chinese viewers interpret the chosen films and Chinese culture conveyed in them, especially with regard to their understanding of certain concepts and themes that arise from the films' narratives, namely, power and solidarity, Chinese features of politeness, sexual metaphors and family traditions. Through a comparison of the interpretations of British viewers, who rely on subtitles, and Chinese viewers, who are solely based on visual images and the original soundtrack, this research investigates how subtitles portray and mediate films and Chinese culture.

This research complements other research in Audiovisual Translation Studies in this area (Pedersen, 2007; Guillot, 2010; Desilla, 2009, 2012, 2014; Suojanen et al., 2015), as it attempts to examine the effect of translated audiovisual texts, by combining an analysis based on the content of films and subtitles with empirical research on audiences. Furthermore, it primarily focuses on the case of Chinese films, which have been relatively neglected in Translation Studies.

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## **Ethical Approval**

The research for this project was submitted for ethics consideration under the reference MCL 15/022 in the Department of Media, Culture and Language and was approved under the procedures of the University of Roehampton's Ethics Committee on 28/09/2015. A minor amendment was made in Feb. 2017 and was approved on 19/02/2017.

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## Abbreviations and Conventions:

### 1. Abbreviations

AVT	Audiovisual Translation
CSR(s)	culture-specific reference(s)
CH	Chinese participants of the audience response test
GB	British participants of the audience response test
DTS	descriptive translation studies
ODE	Oxford Dictionary of English
ST(s)	source text(s)
TT(s)	target text(s)

### 2. Conventions:

a) “Translation Studies” is capitalised when it refers to the discipline. When it refers to the studies on translated texts, lower case is used. Use of capital letter in words such as Orientalism, Oriental, etc., depends on the conventions in the relevant field of studies or the original references.

b) Literal translations of the ST in English are my own and provided in brackets preceded by “lit.”. Translations taken from the films’ subtitles are provided in brackets preceded by “TT”.

c) Terms and expressions in Chinese that do not have lexicalised equivalents in English are translated in *Pinyin* (the official phonetic system for transcribing Mandarin pronunciations of Chinese characters into the Latin alphabet in mainland China) and provided in italics.

# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

This introductory chapter aims to situate the research in a general cultural and theoretical context and to propose the main questions that the present study attempts to answer through the investigation. The present chapter consists of five sections. The first section contextualises the rapid development of Chinese film internationally and points out the academic gap in research on the reception of translated audiovisual texts. The second section stresses the relevance and necessity of reception studies as a tool for understanding how Chinese culture represented in films is perceived by British viewers through subtitles, which is an area yet to be explored. The third section of this chapter introduces the corpus of the present research: it summarises the plots of the films that were selected for the case study, discusses the reasons for choosing the films and outlines the procedures of preparing the corpus of the source text and the target text. The fourth section lists the main research questions that have driven the whole research, while the last section presents the structure of the thesis.

### **1.1 General Context: Chinese Film, its Reception and Audiovisual Translation**

In 2009, the Chinese government initiated a “going-out” media policy, which aimed to promote Chinese cultural industries (film and television production, cultural exhibitions, advertising and publishing, etc.) and to strengthen the global influence of China. Zhengrong Hu and Deqiang Ji (2012: 32) suggest that the global media narratives have stereotyped China “as an oriental nation-state” and have

“offer[ed] a biased and largely negative perspective”. This global media coverage “overlooks many of the positive accomplishments and aspects of Chinese society” and, thus, China is far from “fully” represented (Hu & Ji, 2012: 32). The launch of the “going-out” policy was motivated by such concerns. It hoped to counteract the negative media coverage of China and improve China’s image abroad by amplifying China’s voice overseas.

With the support of government policy, the number of exported Chinese cultural products grew rapidly. According to Li Huailiang (2014: 2), the director of the National Cultural Trade Research Centre, film and television are the most influential media products, and make up a large percentage of China’s cultural exports. The export value of Chinese films grew from 500 million RMB in 2003 to nearly 1.9 million RMB in 2014, with an annual growth rate of almost 38% (Li, 2014: 117). The year 2010 marks the peak of the revenue at more than 3.5 billion RMB. Although China is not yet a major film export country like the USA, a few blockbusters have had great impact internationally. For instance, *Hero* (2002) and *House of Flying Daggers* (2004), both directed by Zhang Yimou, respectively grossed \$USD 177.39 million and \$USD 92.86 million at the box office. Film exportation helps to enhance China’s global cultural presence and to build an international image of China. It is recognised as an effective way for China to exercise “soft power”, as Weiying Peng (2015: 3) has suggested in his PhD thesis.

The international visibility of Chinese films must be understood in the context of the recent rise of international film circulation and foreign film seasons in venues all around the world. In recent years, an increasing number of Chinese films have been introduced to international audiences via various Chinese film festivals. The Europe China Image Film Festival (since 2009), the Chinese Visual Festival

(since 2011) and the China International Film Festival London (since 2013) are held in London annually with the aim of promoting Chinese film distribution in the UK. The BFI, based in London, an association combining cultural, creative and industrial roles, held a five-month season, “A century of Chinese Film”, from June to October 2014 to celebrate China’s film tradition. In the USA, Chinese film exhibitions are held annually to promote the distribution of Chinese films, for instance, the Chinese American Film Festival (held in Los Angeles and San Francisco), the Golden Jasmine Chinese Film Festival (presented at Bryant University in partnership with the Rhode Island International Film Festival) and the DC Chinese Film Festival (founded in 2011, Washington DC), “a non-profit organisation dedicated to discovering outstanding Chinese cinema around the world and to encouraging cultural diversity through films” (DCCF Official Website). A large number of Chinese films have also been shown to the non-English speaking audiences such as Paris, Berlin, Moscow and Sao Paulo through various film festivals.

Along with the prosperity of Chinese films and other cultural products around the world, Chinese and other Far East cultures that were enveloped in a shroud of mystery start to attract global attention. According to David Martinez-Robles (2008), Western perceptions of China have evolved over the centuries (the understanding of notions such as ‘the West’, ‘Western’, and ‘British viewers’ in the context of this research is explained in Section 1.4). China was perceived as “a country of miracles and marvels in the medieval world” and the host of “a refined and erudite culture in early modern Europe” (2008: 7). Martinez-Robles (2008) suggests that historians at the end of the nineteenth century were representatives of the great Western empires who perceived China from epistemological positions that had clear colonialist and Orientalist characteristics. Western perceptions of China

throughout the twentieth century were unable to distance themselves completely from the Orientalist and colonial thought. In line with this, the present research suggests that the stereotypes that were represented in texts about China and East Asia, and that the Western world assimilated as truth during the Enlightenment period still have an impact on their perception of China and Chinese culture at present. As one of the main arguments in this research, I will return to this point in detail in Chapter 3. It is within this context that the present research shall take into account the concept of Orientalism as a framework for investigating the features of Chinese to English translation and the effect it has on the representation of Chinese culture.

The international success of Chinese films also boosts the demand for audiovisual translation. As one of the major modes of audiovisual translation (the other being dubbing), subtitling is the main means by which Chinese films are made linguistically accessible to audiences in the UK. Interlingual subtitling, which involves translation not only between different languages, but also between different modes of communication—from the spoken to the written word, poses great challenges to the translator (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007; Ramière, 2006). Numerous critical issues can arise in subtitling that result in causing audience confusion, especially if there is no equivalent in the target language, which is extremely common in translation between two remote languages, for instance, Chinese and English (Schröter, 2003). The successful reception of Chinese films outside of China depends not only on the filmic content, but also on the quality of the translation of the films.

However, as far as Chinese films are concerned, advances in the discipline of subtitling lag far behind the needs of translation practice. As Xiaohui Yuan (2010: 2) suggests, Chinese and English are markedly remote in both linguistic and cultural



terms. This may suggest that there is more work to be done in the process of subtitling between Chinese and English in films in order to achieve a better effect regarding audience reception, than, for example, in that of subtitling between French and English. The translation difficulties could be greater, which makes maintaining the quality of Chinese to English subtitling challenging. In addition to these linguistic factors, economic factors may also affect the quality of Chinese film subtitling. In the last decade, all over the world, subtitlers have been under increasing pressure to produce their work ever more quickly and efficiently (Georgakopoulou, 2012). With the exception of few famous translators, most Chinese into English subtitlers are paid a meagre fee for subtitling a film (Chen, 2004). In addition, subtitlers in this language pair do not receive royalties for their work. These factors risk compromising the quality of subtitles in Chinese films.

An example of unsatisfactory Chinese film subtitling is given by the Creative Department Director, Zhang Yunming from Disney Company (Chinanews, 2011): 知青 (*zhiqing*) is a word referring to a specific group of people in Chinese history, who are young and educated. Beginning in the 1950s until the end of the Cultural Revolution, these educated young people willingly or under coercion, left urban areas to live and work in the countryside in order to learn from the peasants and to help build socialism (Ni, 2002). While *zhiqing* is conventionally translated as ‘Rusticated’ or ‘Sent-down’ Youth, it has been mistranslated as ‘educated youth’ in many Chinese films, e.g. in the film *The Foliage* (2003, directed by Lv Yue) which tells a story of a sent-down youth, Ye Xingyu’s choice between her love for a rebellious young man and her love for her country. This could be compared with the literal translation of ‘*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*’ in German as ‘National Socialist German Workers’ Party’. Simply translating the superficial

meaning and missing the cultural implication is not rare in translating Chinese film into English. A number of scholars, such as David Katan (2004), have stressed the importance of culture in translation. He argues that different cultures operate within different interpretive frames and, therefore, that the way culture is translated will certainly affect the way it is perceived abroad. It is the translator's role to mediate between two different cultures. This research aspires to consider the effect of this mediation on British viewers' reception of subtitled Chinese films.

Given the practical demand for audiovisual translation, the translation of Chinese films, which plays an important role in their international dissemination, has been relatively neglected by scholars in Chinese film studies. Current research has mainly focused on general issues of Chinese film, such as the aesthetics of the film and national identity as represented in the film. Chris Berry and Mary Ann Farquhar (2006), leading researchers in Chinese Film Studies, explore how films from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Chinese Diaspora construct different ideas of the 'nation' of China. Other scholars take a diachronic view, such as Paul Clark (1987), who introduces Chinese filmmaking from the pre-1949 Shanghai-centred film industry to the emergence of the 'Fifth-Generation' directors (the definition of which is explained in more detail in Section 1.3.1) in the mid-1980s. This book provides an account of behind-the-scenes political movements that were involved in filmmaking. Rey Chow (1995), on the other hand, situates contemporary Chinese cinema within the broad context of Chinese history and culture and undertakes a close reading of several films by Chinese directors, such as Zhang Yimou and Chen Kaige. Chow discusses the issues of social change, national culture, gender and post-colonialism in contemporary Chinese film. While she mentions cross-cultural understanding, neither her research nor the studies on Chinese film by

Berry, Farquhar, Clark and other scholars, examines the translation of Chinese film. These scholars do not take translation into account when discussing the main issues that are nevertheless related to the international reception of Chinese film.

On the other hand, despite the upsurge of research in Audiovisual Translation (AVT), subtitling in particular in the last couple of decades (e.g. Gottlieb, 1997; Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007), there are still areas which remain relatively unexplored. Research on the reception of translated audiovisual texts is one of them. Even though the translators and scholars often make reference to readers, audiences, users, etc., Yves Gambier (2003: 184) asserts that “few studies have dealt with the issue of reception in AVT, and even fewer have looked at it empirically”. While viewers are “the ultimate and direct receivers” of translated audiovisual texts, their expectations are too often neglected during the translation process (Luque, 2003: 293). The activity of watching translated films remains under-researched in terms of viewers’ degree of comprehension and their responses, although there is a more visible interest in reception studies regarding accessibility (e.g. Fryer, 2013; Romero Fresco, 2015).

Moreover, AVT and Translation Studies in general are primarily European language centred. Little research has explored the audiovisual translation issues in the ‘minor’-to-‘major’ language direction, that is, in this case, from Chinese into English as a global *lingua franca*. Aware of this academic gap, the present research has specifically focused on the issue of film translation from Chinese into English. More generally, through examining the representation of Chinese culture in Chinese film subtitling and its impact on audience response, the present thesis endeavours to understand audience reception in intercultural communication.

## **1.2 Reception Studies: Recent Developments and Interdisciplinary Perspectives**

This section examines a few key concepts relevant to Reception Studies from an interdisciplinary perspective. Looking into the history of Reception Studies, the mechanism of how receivers interpret an utterance has attracted the attention of various disciplines since the 1960s. There are different theoretical models, coming from literature, film, linguistics, communication and elsewhere. Different reception-related concepts have developed within each of these fields, depending on their historical and theoretical needs and *modus operandi*. With regard to the cultural elements transmitted through subtitles, I have decided to borrow the main theoretical ideas that informed literary reception theory, not only because I am studying texts which include sets of subtitles, but also because the main terms of the discussion were set by literary theorists before anyone else, from the 60's onwards. The notion of 'horizon of expectations', which is key to early theorists Hans Robert Jauss (1982) and Wolfgang Iser (1978), is pertinent to the analysis in my research: firstly, because as an interpretive textual theory, it is highly relevant to Translation Studies; secondly, because my research is not interested in the film-going experience of spectators, but is concerned with how the texts themselves are read and interpreted, and in this sense, I believe Iser and Jauss's literary reception theory may be applied to film. While I do not want to follow closely literary reception themes and methodologies, I think it is useful to introduce some basic concepts that will clarify the context within which I place the notion of effect.

Theories of reception have their roots in literary theory. Reception studies is concerned with "the ways in which, and the conditions under which, literary works are received and understood by their readers" (Kuhn & Westwell, 2012: 346). Reception is especially concerned with the response of the reader to various aspects

of the literary text, including its meaning, style and affective qualities. Schools of reader-response criticism emerged and became influential during the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the USA and in Germany. The European reception aesthetics school emerges with the work of Jauss and Iser in Germany, both of whom focused on the active role of readers in the process of literature reading (Jauss, 1982; Iser, 1978). For them, the meaning of a message is conceived not as fixed or pre-given, but rather as interpreted by its recipient. The reader is seen as a focal point in the production of the meaning of a literary text. ‘Reception’ is used to make reference to the process in which readers actively participate in the meaning construction.

Reception has to be understood in relation to another of Jauss’s concepts, namely “horizon of expectations”, which designates a set of cultural norms and assumptions according which readers’ understanding of a literary text is shaped (Brems & Pinto, 2013: 142). Iser, a major theorist in reception studies, is concerned with the conditions/social norms that govern the interaction between text and reader, which he termed the “communicatory structure” (Iser, 1978). The notions of “reception” and “horizon of expectations” or “communicatory structure” (which will be introduced in detail in Chapter 2) mark two primary interests of reception studies: the psychological movement involved in the process of reading a literary text, and the role of contextual factors (social, historical and cultural) in this process. The subjectivity and indeterminacy of the process of literature reading or, indeed, that of film watching point at the necessity of reception studies.

Jauss’s and Iser’s reception aesthetics are of significant importance for shifting the analytic focus from the meanings ‘in’ the text to the process of reading a text, i.e. reception. An equally important reference point for reception studies is Stanley Fish (1980), a leading theorist from the North American reader-response

school. By referring to “interpretive communities”, Fish (1980) claims that a collection of norms and strategies may emerge around “shared knowledge, expectations, and readings of works” (Kuhn & Westwell, 2012: 346). The notion of “interpretive communities” is discussed in relation to the core concept of ‘horizon of expectations’ in the present study below (Section 1.4). Fish (1980) sees readers as members of the collectivity, who share interpretive resources of a text and who employ common strategies for making meaning. The approaches of both schools decentre the text, and counter the highly text-centred approach of American New Criticism from the 1930s to 1950s (Livingstone & Das, 2013). They stand in total opposition to the theories of New Criticism which “reject consideration of the reader and emphasise the critics’ privileged status in interpreting the text” (2013: 4). However, reception theories in general have been criticised for “being too theoretical and unwilling to explore empirical process of reading” (*ibid*). The theoretical/textual analysis does not allow me to focus sufficiently on the effect of the subtitles on the spectator, which is the primary concern of the present study. With a more complex notion of films and viewers, the need for a way of studying viewers’ interpretations becomes more pressing.

In relation to cinema, reception studies are concerned with “how viewers make sense of films in the context of their existing involvement with, and prior knowledge about films” (Kuhn & Westwell, 2012: 346). Film reception investigates the viewer’s interaction with films, the expectations and interpretive strategies brought to bear on reading films, and how the latter are shaped. According to Annette Kuhn and Guy Westwell (2012: 346), studies of film receptions are grounded in the understanding of the audience as “a social group comprised of real people in possession of cultural capital”. Reception studies concern themselves with

conditions of reception that might be thought to shape the expectations and interpretations of filmgoers, past and present. Unlike other film theories developed in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Althusser, 1971), which describe audiences as “passive”, “homogenous” and “idealised”, reception theory when applied in Film Studies rejects the classical construction of the spectator and instead focuses on how actual viewers interact with films (Film Reference, online). It has provided the basis for several decades of work on reception which attempts to account for the varied interpretations of films. Although the film reception angle is relevant to the present study, it is not used as a primary tool for analysis. This study is interested in the exploration of the effect of subtitles as transmitters of cultural content, not of the film as such.

The present study brings into sharp focus the concept of “effect”, a term that is initially used in Communication Studies referring to the effect of exposure to media content on receptors. For the purposes of this thesis, “media” is used in a broad sense, which includes both print media such as books, newspapers, journals and electrical media like radio, television, film and the Internet (McQuail, 2010). By adapting notions from Communication Studies into AVT research, this study acquires an interdisciplinary character as can be seen in the models and empirical research methods borrowed from studies on media effects (details of which are introduced in Chapter 2).

In the field of AVT, the importance of reception studies or the effect of translated audiovisual texts on viewers has been gradually recognised by scholars. Gambier (2003) was one of the first scholars to stress the importance of reception studies in AVT and is currently giving it much prominence (Gambier and Di Giovanni, forthcoming 2018). In one of the earliest papers that discuss the issue of

reception of subtitles, Irena Kovačič (1995: 379) argues that the ideal viewer, defined as “someone with all the necessary cognitive, personal, social and other dispositions to receive a literary work exactly as it was conceived and intended by the author”, does not exist. Subtitlers’ choices, which are based on “the average cognitive environment of the expected viewership” or which presume that the ideal viewer is part of the same social/cultural/educational group as they are, can be problematic (1995: 380). Kovačič suggests that what is important is that subtitlers are aware of this and that they do everything possible to avoid imposing their own cognitive environment on the entire audience. More importantly, a subtitler has to be equipped with knowledge regarding the process of viewers’ reception of subtitles in order to be able to make appropriate decisions. She (1995) therefore calls for more systematic and cross-cultural research on the reception of subtitles.

In responding to her call, researchers at the University of Bologna’s Department of Interdisciplinary Studies in Translation and Cultures in Forlì (e.g. Antonini, 2007, 2008; Bucaria & Chiaro 2007; Antonini & Chiaro 2009) carried out a series of studies in order to assess Italian viewers’ individual responses to translational solutions adopted in the dubbed version of English programmes. Gambier and Di Giovanni edited *AVT and Reception Studies* (2018) is in preparation. Scholars such as Delia Chiaro (2008), John Denton and Debora Ciampi (2012), and Tytti Suojanen et al. (2015) have also emphasised the importance of studies on reception in AVT. Denton and Ciampi (2012: 399) identify audience reception as “a new development in AVT Studies” and a question that needs to be focused on intensely by scholars. In the same vein, Delia Chiaro (2008: 249) contends that AVT should be considered as a service and that its quality should therefore be assessed on the basis of the reactions of end users, in the case of the present study, the film



viewers. In the second decade of the twenty-first century, interest in reception studies in AVT has grown exponentially, e.g. Pablo Romero Fresco (2015), David Orrego-Carmona and Yvonne Lee (2017). In particular, the idea of user-centred translation has grown in importance.

The idea of considering the reader or recipient a “user” is addressed by Tytti Suojanen et al. In their book *User-centered Translation* (2015), they suggest that the notion of user “opens up an entirely new way of thinking” about the translation practice and translation research, which are essentially about the interaction between users and a product (2015: 29). This notion implies a diverse recipient and sees the translated text as a product to satisfy their different needs. Based on this, Suojanen et al. (2015: 2) raise the question of how translators can improve the usability of a translated text, the ease with which users can use a product to achieve their goals. Thus, the users of texts have to be categorised, as different user categories require different translation strategies and approaches. However, it is often impossible for the translators to know the exact knowledge base of the recipients. Translations are thus based on an estimated “average knowledge” of recipients (Suojanen et al., 2015: 24). Under such conditions, translators can only aim at a potential target audience whose profile is unknown. Gambier (2003) has readdressed Kovačič’s (1995) account that translators often end up using themselves as a measure for adaptation needs. They make their decisions about translation approaches or strategies on the basis of an (erroneous) assumption that “their own individual social and cognitive environment is also that of the ‘average’ viewer” (2003: 186). These strategies and tactics lacking empirical testing on readers’ response are unable to address the needs and expectations of real readers. From this, Suojanen et al. readdress the importance of reception studies on the actual “user” of translations.

In addition, Suojanen et al. (2015: 6) argue that the translation process does not end at the point where the translation is finished and delivered to the client. It is a cyclical mode of operation, where users have to be analysed and usability has to be evaluated via recursive usability research methods. Translation, revision and quality assessment are conducted “iteratively” rather than “in a linear fashion” (Suojanen et al., 2015: 4). Based on this, they propose “a user-centred translation”, in which “information about users is gathered iteratively throughout the process and through different methods, and this information is used to create a usable translation” (2015: 4). Suojanen et al. (2015: 6) also suggest that the finished translation has to be assessed with reception studies. The general purpose of reception studies in translation is to find out how readers understand translated texts, or whether the translation strategies applied are useful and acceptable from the receivers’ perspective (*ibid*). The findings of the reception studies provide feedback to the translators. A new cycle of translation starts with a more detailed user profile, which helps the translator to employ the appropriate translation strategies to benefit the user. Aware of the great importance of reception studies, the present thesis investigates this issue through a case study on the reception of subtitled Chinese films. The research corpus that is selected for the present research is introduced in the following section.

### 1.3 Research Corpus

Three Chinese films have been chosen for the present analysis: *Red Sorghum* (1987), *Ju Dou* (1990) and *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992)<sup>1</sup>, directed by Zhang Yimou.

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<sup>1</sup> Information about the full cast, crew, a brief introduction of the film plot etc. can be found on IMDb. *Red Sorghum*. [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0093206/?ref=fn\\_al\\_tt\\_1](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0093206/?ref=fn_al_tt_1)  
*Ju Dou*. [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0099902/?ref=fn\\_al\\_tt\\_1](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0099902/?ref=fn_al_tt_1)

The first part presents a cultural and aesthetic description of the films under investigation, and justifies the reasons for choosing these films as case studies. The second part provides information on the DVDs of the films that were used to prepare the transcript of the original Chinese dialogues and the English subtitles for analysis.

### **1.3.1 Films under investigation and motivation for choice**

The primary reason to select canonical film as sources of data in the present study is that both the aesthetics and the narratives of the chosen films foreground Chinese tradition and culture in ways that as this research discusses further down, can be thought of as problematic, raising issues of identity, representation and exoticisation. Represented by the works of Zhang Yimou, Chen Kaige (director of *Farewell My Concubine*, 1993), Tian Zhuangzhuang (director of *On the Hunting Ground*, 1985 and *The Horse Thief*, 1986) and other prominent Chinese filmmakers, the Fifth-Generation cinema are the first canonical films that open up Chinese films to an international audience. The Fifth-Generation directors are the first group who successfully graduated from Beijing Film Academy after the Culture Revolution (1966-1976), so called because they are the fifth distinct group of filmmakers to have surfaced in mainland China. Yingjin Zhang (1997: 84) suggests that the exploration of what are defined as Chinese national cultural characteristics and traditions has secured international reputation for the Fifth-Generation cinema. He thus claims that the Fifth-Generation cinema has in varying degrees participated in the creation, crystallisation and expression of the cultural identity of contemporary China. Based on this understanding, analysis of the Fifth General cinema can reveal how China is represented in translated audiovisual texts for an Anglophone audience and, thus, is

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*Raise the Red Lantern*. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0101640/>

pertinent for this research.

The three selected films are all directed by Zhang Yimou. The reason underlying the selection of his films primarily resides in the international success of his works. As one of the best-known directors from the Fifth Generation, Zhang has managed to extend the influence of the Chinese film throughout the world. His early works played a significant role in disseminating/representing Chinese culture abroad at a time when China remained still unknown or mysterious to the outside world. Shot in the late twentieth century, the three selected films have had a “startling effect” in the West with their rich colours and claustrophobic atmosphere, so different to the strident propaganda films most Westerners imagine, according to the film reviewer Derek Malcolm (2000: online). These films form British viewers’ initial impression of China and mark how Chinese films and Chinese culture are now perceived. Therefore, it makes sense to choose these films as sample to test audience reception of Chinese films and Chinese culture.

As Zhang’s initial directorial effort, *Red Sorghum* (1987) won the Golden Bear Award at the 1988 Berlin Film Festival. This was the highest honour a Chinese film had ever achieved until then. After that, a series of Chinese films embarked on a voyage towards international recognition. Zhang’s *Ju Dou* (1990) was the first Chinese film ever to be nominated for an Oscar for best foreign-language film and to be the winner of the Luis Bunuel Award at the Cannes Film Festival. *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992) won the Silver Lion at the Venice International Film Festival and was selected as “the best film not in the English language” at British Academy Film Awards in 1993. As some of the early films to be widely shown in Western theatres, these films have launched Chinese cinema to the world, garnered important awards, but also retained reputation to the present time. The film *Raise the Red Lantern* was

still selected as one of The 100 Best Films of World Cinema in 2010 by the British film magazine *Empire* (2010: online). Zhang's recent works, such as *Hero* (2002), *Curse of the Golden Flower* (2006), *The Flowers of War* (2011) amongst others, have also achieved great success following international release. Audiovisual translation is of significant importance in these films' international success.

The rationale underlying the selection of these three films among Zhang's works lies first of all in their similarities in theme and main casts. These three films form a trilogy linked by their early twentieth century, pre-Communist settings, the theme of social constraint versus personal desire, their oft-stunning visual display and the presence of the same leading actress, Gong Li, who, thanks to these films, has become internationally famous. The first selected film, *Red Sorghum* (1987) tells the story of a young woman, Jiuer, who is forced by her parents into an arranged marriage with an old man, the owner of a distillery. She falls in love with one of the men who carry her sedan, after he rescues her from a bandit's attack. This film presents the leading protagonists' bucolic love affair, their heroic display of peasant vitality and their fight against the Japanese invasion in 1937.

The motif of female oppression in feudal China is repeated in the other two films. Set in the 1920s in rural China, *Ju Dou's* (1990) narrative centres on a beautiful young woman Judou. Judou is purchased as a wife by the old owner of a dye factory, Yang Jinshan, who has tortured to death his two previous wives for not bearing him a son. Judou is attracted to the owner's nephew Tianqing and has an affair with him, which would be considered not only adulterous but also incestuous in traditional Chinese society. The lovers soon produce a son, pretending that he is Jinshan's own. One day, Jinshan is paralysed by a fall down a ravine and eventually drowns in a dye vat while playing with the child. His death leads to gossip among

the villagers about the relationship between Judou and her lover, which drives the teenage child to drown his mother's lover in the same dye vat. Judou burns down the factory as the film ends.

*Ju Dou* is seen as an “anti-Confucian film that shows how traditions become traps that do not allow for human dignity and happiness” by some film reviewers (Serpytyte, 2016: online). The eponymous female protagonist, Judou, has to fulfil an ideal Confucian role to bear a son for the family, which is an impossible task as her husband is actually impotent. The film portrays the brutal sexual abuse that Judou has suffered. Even after her husband died, she still needs to remain chaste and cannot remarry. The male protagonist's character is tragic in his own way too. Whereas his uncle—Judou's husband Jinshan—treats him like a slave, Tianqing works for him diligently and is filial to him. Even if the leverage of power has changed due to Jinshan's paralysation, Tianqing still rejects Judou's idea to kill Jinshan and chooses to remain loyal to his uncle.

The third film, *Raise the Red Lantern* (1991), tells the story of nineteen-year-old Songlian, who marries into a wealthy Chen family and becomes the Fourth Mistress of the household. Upon her arrival, she receives luxurious treatments of foot massage and red lanterns lighted. Soon, she discovers that only the one, whom the Master spends the night with, gets lanterns lit, receives the foot massage, has her choice of dishes at mealtimes, and commands respect from the servants. She therefore becomes embroiled in constant competition with other mistresses. In order to gain the Master's attention and survive the intrigues of the other three wives, Songlian feigns pregnancy, which is exposed by the Second Mistress. Infuriated, the Master orders Songlian's lanterns to be covered indefinitely. Being completely drunk, Songlian inadvertently reveals the Third Mistress's love affair with the family

doctor, which leads her to be dragged to the roof and hanged to death. Songlian witnesses her execution and becomes emotionally traumatised. The film ends the following summer when another mistress marries the Master. Songlian wanders the courtyard, having gone completely insane.

As seminal works of the Fifth-Generation filmmakers, the three selected films take human suffering and human relationships in a patriarchal society as their main theme. These films portray the systematic oppression of women in a traditional patriarchal society and figure women's struggle against arranged marriages, the brutal, autocratic rule of impotent old men (Cardullo, 2015: 167). They differ radically from previous films in deliberately avoiding an ideological message, revolting against accepted views and espousing overt bourgeois liberal values. In these films, the oppressive, backward and inhumane aspects of traditional Chinese life have been emphasised. The features of the Fifth-Generation cinema are evident in the three selected films. Therefore, it is worth investigating how these features are transferred (or not) in the English subtitled version of these films.

The three selected films are linked not only by similar thematic concerns but also aesthetic styles. These films focus on artistic experimentation with stylised form of expression, which are characterized by still imagery, minimal dialogue and action. In the three films, the luscious use of colour and lighting creates sensuous images and metaphors and enhances the dramatic aspect of the narrative. In *Red Sorghum*, Zhang portrays the interaction between nature and human beings, which produces images filled with vitality, e.g. the portrayal of wine making process which transforms red sorghum plant to red sorghum wine (Ng, 1995: online). The rich red colour of the sorghum and the sorghum wine, and the deserted setting, comprising mainly sand and stone, enhance the aesthetic impact of colour contrasts. The colour

red also predominated in *Ju Dou*. In this film, the dyeing mill, with the colourful long sheets of cloth, adds stark contrast between the visual beauty and the brutal reality. Similarly, in the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, the architecture, the illuminated red lanterns and the detailed faces of the women are notable features that contribute to the films visual purity and voluptuous quality (Buckle, 2010: online). Not just the stunning visual display in these films, but also the rites associated with hanging the lanterns, dyeing the cloth or making the red sorghum wine, are filled with symbolisms. Beneath the rich colour display and the repetitive practice of daily ritual, these films portray the cruel reality of life in traditional Chinese society (Berry & Farquhar, 2006: 130). However, Roger Ebert (1989: online) suggests that comparing with reading the political signs in these films, Western audiences probably seem to be more interested in the melodrama and the overwhelming visual quality of the films.

The effect of the aesthetic style of these films on the reception of Chinese films and Chinese culture has been discussed by a few scholars. The reception of Zhang's films is "a mix of celebration and bitter accusation of sellout" (Zhang, 1997a: 306). Marvellously structured, richly imagined and well-acted pieces of work, Zhang Yimou's films are also criticised for the "inauthentic" filmic representation of Chinese culture (e.g. Dai, 1993; Zhang, 1997). Chinese journalist Qing Dai (1993: 333-336) states that "this kind of film [films like Zhang's] is really shot for the casual pleasure of foreigners" to satisfy their oriental fetishisms. She even compiles a long list of false notes in Zhang Yimou's filmic representation of Chinese culture in *Raise the Red Lantern*, notably the fact that Zhang Yimou seemed to have invented rituals of foot massage and raising of the red lantern.

Zhang (1997: 84) voices a similar criticism about the representation of



Chinese national culture in these films. According to Zhang (1997), the portrayal of Chinese culture in the Fifth-Generation films, such as the customs, the legends, the myths and rituals, secures international reputation for these films. Indeed, one of the greatest successes of the Fifth-Generation cinema lies in its “cultural exhibitionism” (1997: 84). However, Zhang (1997) worries that the lavish visual style and exhibition of traditional rituals in these films might be misrepresentative in that they offer an exotic and mysterious portrayal to the audiences. He argues that what is presented in these films is a “repackaged”, “mystified and Orientalised” Chinese national culture, which the Western audiences might mistake for authentically “Chinese” (1997: 84). The linking of Orientalism with Chinese films offers an opportunity to rethink the effect of cultural representation in Chinese films on Western audiences. Reception research in the present study may provide findings either in support of or against the criticism of internal Orientalism in Chinese films. Empirical research on audience response, in particular, may help to reveal what effect exposure to Chinese films and their English subtitles may have on audiences.

In addition to the similarities in theme, main cast and visual style, other common characteristics of the three films, such as their adaptation from contemporary Chinese fiction, have also motivated the choice of selecting them as research material for the present study. *Red Sorghum* (1987) is based on Chinese Nobel laureate Mo Yan’s volumes *Red Sorghum* and *Sorghum Wine* in the novel *Red Sorghum Clan*, which was published in 1987. The original novel was translated into English by Howard Goldblatt in 1993 under the title of *Red Sorghum-A Novel of China*. *Ju Dou* (1990) is adapted from Liu Heng’s novella *Fuxi Fuxi* (1988), which is named after a mythical Chinese deity who married Nuwa, his sibling, and created the human race. This novella was translated as *The Obsessed* by David Kwan in 1991.

The third film, *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992), is an adaptation of *Wives and Concubines* (1990) by Su Tong. After the success of the film, the original novel was republished in China under the same name as the film, and was translated into English by Michael S. Duke in 1993 keeping the English title of the film.

Compared with the films, the novels seem to have focused more on the depiction of the brutal reality of life in rural China and making their ideological messages explicit. For instance, the novel *Red Sorghum: A Novel of China* relates the story about the narrator's family history to the history of Anti-Japanese war in the 1930s. The novel becomes a heroic tale depicting the narrator's grandparents' and the villagers' fight against the Japanese invaders. In addition, instead of starting with the narrator reminiscing about his grandmother's wedding, as in the film, the novel begins with a group of villagers who are led by the narrator's grandfather to attack the Japanese invaders. The political and heroic discourse is evident from the start. The narrator's grandmother is killed when passing through the sorghum field to deliver food to her husband. Her death becomes the thread that links the past to the present. The novel is told through a series of flashbacks that depict "the war's progress, the fighting between rival Chinese warlords, and the history of [the narrator's] family" (Kirkus Reviews, 1993/2010: online). When Zhang Yimou adapted these novels into films, he placed much importance on the display of the stunning visual images and the exhibition of traditional Chinese rituals. The differences between the novels and the films provide the critics another reason to decry the "Orientalised" cultural representation in these films, a point to which I will return in Chapter 3.

This research primarily focuses on the investigation of audiences' understanding of the culture-specific references (CSRs) as represented in the films

rather than in the novels. It is assumed that the high degree of representation of Chinese culture in these films would contain a plethora of CSRs, which could pose great challenges in translation and audience reception. The commonality of themes and other characteristics between the selected themes enable this research to look for the same type of CSRs in all three films when conducting textual analysis of subtitles and make it possible to detect patterns in subtitling these films.

### **1.3.2 The source and target texts**

The research corpus used in the present study, which includes original Chinese dialogues in their audiovisual context, and English subtitles, is based on the DVDs of the three films. Produced by Xi'an Film Studio, the DVD version of *Red Sorghum* is distributed by Moonstone Entertainment, United States. The soundtrack on the cover of the DVD states the language as "Mandarin with English subtitles". On the cover of the DVD, information about the adaptation "based on Mo Yan's novel *Red Sorghum* and *Sorghum Wine*" is also provided. However, the subtitler's name cannot be identified from either the cover or the content of DVD. At the beginning of the film and also on the cover of the DVD, only the names of the producer, original music, cinematography, scriptwriter and director are listed. The subtitles of the three films used in the present research were all made in the 1990s after the initial theatrical release of these films. These films have been re-released in DVD by either the same or different companies since then. However, no updated subtitles have been provided, to the best of my knowledge. The subtitles in the present analysis are from the DVDs that are currently available on the British market and hence are those that the British DVD viewers have had to rely on in the past and at present. In other words, although the subtitles and the Chinese films for the case

study in the present research date from twenty or more years ago and probably do not reflect the quality of Chinese subtitling at present, they are still valid for evaluating British viewers' understanding of these films and of Chinese culture through subtitles.

The film *Ju Dou* is a joint production by China Film Co-production Corporation, Tokuma Shoten Publishing Co., Ltd., Tokuma Shoten Exchange Co., Ltd. and Xi'an Film Studio. The DVD is distributed by Escapi Media BV. It is stated on the cover of the DVD that this film is provided in its original language Chinese with English, Swedish and Dutch Subtitles. The third film, *Raise the Red Lantern* is produced by China Film Co-production Corporation and Era International (Hong Kong) Ltd. The DVD version of this film is released by Magic Play Entertainment. On the cover of the DVD, the language stated is "Chinese with English, simplified Chinese, traditional Chinese subtitles". Again, the subtitler's names are not provided. As part of the present research, the researcher contacted the distribution companies through email. Michael Grant, the Director of Production and Marketing of Moonstone Entertainment, the distribution company of *Red Sorghum*, confirmed that their company only acted as agent for this film. He had no knowledge or records of the subtitlers. No reply was received from the distribution companies of *Ju Dou* and *Raise the Red Lantern*. The information about the subtitlers is not kept by the producing companies neither. This, to a certain extent, reflects the little attention that has been given to audiovisual translation and the subtitler.

For the purpose of comparison, Chinese source texts and English subtitles copied from the DVD are placed in a table and inserted in the appendix. The full transcriptions of dialogues and subtitles of the three films are attached at the end of the thesis as Appendices 1-3. One table is created for each film. The left column

contains a transcription of the original Chinese dialogue while the right column shows the English subtitles. First, the English subtitles are numbered sequentially. Then, the corresponding Chinese dialogue is numbered accordingly.

In the part of textual analysis in this thesis (mainly in Chapter 5), the relevant pairs of the transcript of the Chinese dialogues and the corresponding English subtitles are cited and presented in tabular format. The speaker's identity is added in the table in front of each line of the Chinese source text. This is done for the sake of clarity and so that the reader of this thesis can be assisted in understanding the argument made in the analysis. Grammatical or spelling mistakes, punctuations and line breaks in the subtitles are preserved in the examples in order to reflect the reality of the subtitles in these films. The tables used in the analysis are numbered and listed at the beginning of the thesis.

With regard to the part of empirical research, film sequences which contain at least one instance of CSRs are selected from the selected films as units of analysis. In the present study, a film scene is defined as “a unified action within a film that carries the plot forward, unfolding events in the story and providing new information”, while a sequence refers to a series of related scenes which constitute a narrative unit (a phase of action or a move in the plot) in the film (Kuhn & Westwell, 2012: online). A sequence is normally autonomous—consisted of its own beginning, middle and end. Transitions between film sequences are marked either by shifts in time, space, action or by cinematic devices such as fades, dissolves, cuts to black, etc. (*ibid*). The selected sequences in this study are cut into clips from the DVD and screened to British and Chinese viewers. Questions regarding the viewers' understanding of a particular dialogue in the original soundtrack and via English subtitles are designed in order to compare similarities and differences between those

who watch the clips with English subtitles and those who do not do so. In the analysis of the results of the questionnaire (Chapter 6), relevant film scenes (from the selected sequences) are briefly introduced in order to provide a context for the analysis.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

Since this thesis discusses the international reception of Chinese films and Chinese culture through translation, it is important to take into account the limitations and shortcomings of terms such as “the West”, “Western” and “British viewers”, as these general notions resist clear definitions. In the context of this research, “the West” or “Western” is not considered as a geographical entity, but rather, designates integral communities that share a cultural and historical past, in the sense that Edward Said’s (1978/2003) gives these terms. These notions signify a collective assumption or expectation of China and Chinese culture, mainly by the Europeans, as opposed to the interpretation that the Chinese would make.

In media research, Denis McQuail (2010: 398) suggests that the term “audience” actually implies a “diverse and complex reality”, which is constituted by a differentiated set of individuals and groups of viewers. McQuail (2010: 398) further states that audiences are a product of social context, which leads to shared social/cultural identifying characteristics, e.g. cultural interests, understandings and information needs. In line with this interpretation, the British viewers/audiences in this research is defined as a group of viewers or audiences who share cultural expectations, but can be diverse in age, level of education and reading habits, etc. As it was introduced earlier, Fish (1980), from a literary theory perspective, explains readers’ common characteristics in the production of meaning in relation to the

notion of “interpretive communities”. He argues that individuals share interpretative strategies as part of a community, which determines, to an extent, the way they understand or interpret a text. He therefore advocates preserving the claim of generality in literary response without giving up the differences in individuals. The concept of “interpretive communities” entails that readers’/viewers’ horizon of expectations and their interpretations of a text are not just subjective and individual, but are collective based on aspects such as history, geography and cultural assumptions (Brems & Pinto, 2013: 142). British viewers’ horizon of expectations, within which their reception of Chinese films and Chinese culture is contextualised, is discussed in Chapter 3, in the context of our examination of the history of Chinese to English translation and the discourse of Orientalism.

The main purpose of this study is to examine British and Chinese viewers’ understanding of Chinese films and Chinese culture as represented in them from a comparative perspective, and to explore the effect of subtitles on British viewers’ reception. With the aim of investigating an “effect”, the present research has opted for an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on theories from literary theory and Communication Studies in addition to Translation Studies. The rationale underlying the adoption of this interdisciplinary approach is that Communication Studies has a long history of examining effect through empirical research methods, while reception theory in literary theory pioneers in considering the reader’s active role in contextualising the meaning of a text and thus relates to the problematic of effect.

Extending the work of reception studies to translation (e.g. Jauss, 1982; Iser, 1978; Forlì scholars, Desilla, 2009, 2012, 2014; Suojanen et al., 2015) and to the Chinese context, and taking into account past research investigating the effect within

the realm of Communication Studies and Literary Theory, the present study poses the following research questions:

- From the point of view of textual analysis: How is Chinese culture represented in Chinese films, especially in the Fifth-Generation cinema, and how is this culture mediated through English subtitles?
- From a cultural point of view: How relevant is the concept of Orientalism in relation to expectations of ‘Chineseness’? How is this Orientalist thought characterised in the representation of Chinese culture in Chinese films and, more specifically, in the English subtitles of these films?
- From the point of view of the audience: How do British and Chinese viewers understand CSRs as represented in Chinese films? What effect do English subtitles have on British viewers’ understanding of the CSRs in subtitled Chinese films and by extension of the films themselves?

Question one involves detailed analysis of the shifts that the translators have made in producing the English subtitles, the translation approaches and strategies they employed and the norms they adhered to. The stated purpose of this research is to find out how and to what extent English subtitles capture the cultural features depicted in the original Chinese source texts. If not, what kind of effect might this cause on audience reception?

Question two investigates to what extent orientalist attitudes inform British public’s expectations of Chinese culture and how they influence the comprehension of Chinese films and Chinese culture as represented in them. The textual analysis of the English subtitles in the selected films attempts to determine whether the subtitles have been made to conform to British viewers’ expectations, while the results of audience response test can confirm or refute the active role of audiences in the



appreciation of translated texts.

Question three seeks to ascertain whether and to what extent British and Chinese viewers understand the CSRs that the filmmakers, and in principle also the subtitlers, intended the film to evoke. It also aims to establish and interpret any similarities and differences in the way of British and Chinese viewers understand CSRs as represented in Chinese films. Exploration of this question is based on analytical findings of the first two questions. Empirical testing of the comprehension of CSRs by British and Chinese viewers examines how the subtitled Chinese films are actually processed by source and target audiences and whether British viewers can pick up on the CSRs as represented in the films through subtitles. This question concerns the extent to which the hypotheses pertaining to the understanding of CSRs as proposed in the first part of analysis are empirically verified. Therefore, features of the effect of English subtitles on facilitating British viewers' comprehension of Chinese films can be confirmed with more precision.

## **1.5 Thesis Structure**

Driven by the research questions listed above, a mere comparison between source and target texts would be insufficient. The present research has combined a comparative textual analysis with empirical research on audience response through questionnaire. These two approaches are applied in two different parts of the present study, which focus respectively on the translation product and on receivers. The first part of this research involves a comparison of the original Chinese dialogues and the English subtitles in the selected films. Through the comparative textual analysis, this research intends to consider (a) potential differences between the representation of Chinese culture in the source films and that which emerges from the subtitles; (b)

recurring patterns of subtitling in Chinese films regarding cultural representation; (c) whether the translation strategies followed in current subtitles allow the transmission of all the intended culture-bound issues, and if so to what extent. Through the analysis, the effect of subtitles on audience reception could be anticipated, and the hypothetical effect will be tested through an empirical audience response test.

This research has focused on the reception of cultural transfer in audiovisual translation. Special attention has been paid to the translation of three types of CSRs, both in the textual analysis and in the design of the empirical study on audience reception. These are first, how the translation of terms of address has affected the representation of power and solidarity as expressed in the original films; second, how rhetorical questions in the dialogue have acted as a particular feature of Chinese language to express politeness; and third, how the translation of Confucian values in the selected films has influenced audiences' understanding of sexuality and family traditions in China. These three types of CSRs correspond to translation at lexical/pragmatic, syntactic, and textual/ideological levels. The analysis of the translation of these three types of CSRs expands from translation of a single unit to translation of sentences, and then texts. Although Confucian values represent comparatively more abstract types of CSRs, they express a coherent theme which runs through the three selected films, the analysis of which thus fits the scope of this study. In all of the chosen films, these three types of CSRs play a crucial role in the development of the plot. The degree to which viewers understand these references corresponds to the degree to which they understand the plot of the whole film. The high concentration of culture-specificity poses a major challenge in translating these films, and also may cause difficulties in understanding for the viewers (Denton &

Ciampi, 2012: 405). Thus, this research focuses primarily on the film sequences and dialogues revealing these issues.

The second part of this research sets up an empirical study on audience reception of subtitled Chinese films through questionnaire. A corpus of three sequences from the selected Chinese films are collected and shown to samples of twelve native Chinese viewers (resident in the UK and with Chinese as their first language) and twelve native British viewers (resident in the UK and with English as their first language). Each of the film sequences contains at least one example of culture-specific elements, which is predicted to cause difficulties in audience reception. After watching the clips, respondents are asked to fill out a questionnaire, which is set out to probe their understanding of each excerpt.

This is a predominantly qualitative type of research with quantitative elements in the sense that a questionnaire, which is, strictly speaking, a quantitative research method, is also used in this research. As will be argued in Chapter 4, employing quantitative research tools in a traditionally qualitative research enhances the credibility of this research. The first and second research questions attempt to answer the question of how culture is transferred in subtitles. This can best be achieved through a close examination/comparison of the source and target texts. The third research question aims to investigate audience reception, therefore, an audience response test in the form of questionnaire has been used. The questionnaire used in this research, which contains both closed-ended and open-ended questions, collects data on viewers' interpretation of culture-specific elements in the selected Chinese films, especially those relevant to the above-mentioned three types of CSRs. Closed-ended questions test whether British and Chinese viewers can capture the CSRs represented in the selected Chinese films, while open-ended questions explore how

they interpret the films similarly or differently. Collecting both quantitative and qualitative data increases the width and depth of the understanding of audience reception.

Through a comparison of the interpretations of the British viewers, who rely on subtitles, with those of the Chinese viewers, who have unmediated access to the language of the film, the effect of subtitles on mediating Chinese culture and facilitating audience reception can be detected. After that, the results of this part of empirical test are compared with the account made in the first, non-empirical part of contrastive textual analysis. By combining the data on audience response with the analytical findings, this research is able to gain a better understanding of audience reception of subtitled Chinese films. Accordingly, this thesis consists of seven chapters as introduced below:

Apart from the present chapter, which provides an introduction to the whole research, Chapter Two is a literature review and definitional chapter. The first section introduces the key notion of effect in the present research and provides the background of research on effect. After establishing a model for examining effect in the context of subtitled films, it offers a review of the theories considering the concept of effect on receptors from an interdisciplinary perspective. Existing theories regarding the core concept of effect from Communication Studies, Literary Theory, Film Studies and Translation Studies and are introduced in four separate sections. The review of studies on media effects from Communication Studies will enable the hypothesis that the effect of subtitled films on audience is a negotiation between what is offered in the films and subtitles, and what a receiver is inclined to accept. Reception theory in Literary Theory (Iser, 1978; Jauss, 1982) stresses the active participation of the receiver in literature reading, and suggests that the effect of a text

on the reader is negotiated according to the reader's "horizon of expectations". This theory, applied in Film Studies, informs a series of arguments proposed later in this thesis regarding the expectations of British viewers of subtitled films. Eugene Nida's (1964, 1969/2003) theoretical advance of formal and dynamic equivalence which initially brings the notion of effect in Translation Studies is also discussed. The last section of this chapter reviews the recent trends of reception studies in AVT research and points out an academic gap that this research aspires to fill.

Chapter Three delves the further into the core concepts of "effect" and "horizon of expectations" in the context of reception of subtitled Chinese films. Section 3.1 presents a brief overview of the peak periods in the history of Chinese to English translation, which indicates that literary translation has built a collective expectation of the image of China and Chinese culture within British viewers. Based on this, Section 3.2 examines the translation of Chinese culture in line with the notion of Orientalism, and discusses the effect that Orientalist ways of thinking might have on British viewers' understanding of Chinese films and Chinese culture. This is followed by a case study of the representation of Chinese culture in the Fifth-Generation cinema and particularly in Zhang Yimou's films. The main argument is that the cultural representation in these films can be seen as an act of "self-Orientalisation" by Chinese filmmakers. This chapter concludes with a diagrammatical presentation of parameters that have to be considered in investigating the effect of subtitles on the audience.

Chapter Four is devoted to methodology. This chapter presents the research design of this research, which involves a textual analysis of the original Chinese dialogues and the English subtitles, and an empirical research regarding British and Chinese viewers' responses. In line with the research design (Section 4.2), the

following two sections present the detailed methods (comparative textual analysis and questionnaire) that have been employed to collect data. Section 4.3 deals with various definitions of the CSRs and identifies three types of CSRs that are present in the selected Chinese films. It also discusses how Toury's notion of descriptive translation studies is linked with the investigation of audience reception in the present study. The last part of this section presents the conceptual framework which guides the analysis on the basis of texts, ranging from general translation approaches (domestication vs. foreignisation) to detailed translation strategies. Section 4.4 lists methodological and practical considerations regarding the questionnaire, which include the questionnaire design, the selection of participants, and the procedures of data collection. The last section of this chapter explains how the data obtained through questionnaire are analysed and interpreted in the analysis, mainly in Chapter 6, and how the results of questionnaire surveys could confirm or refute the analytical findings in Chapter 5.

Chapter Five turns to an in-depth case study on three selected Zhang Yimou's films, *Red Sorghum* (1987), *Ju Dou* (1990) and *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992) from a translational point of view. The translation of the three types of CSRs listed above, namely, terms of address, rhetorical questions and Confucian values, is analysed in three respective sections. Examples of the ST-TT language pairs are provided. Through a comparison of the original Chinese dialogues and English subtitles, the analysis attempts to detect the shifts that have been made in the English subtitles, to identify the translation approaches and strategies (from the taxonomies listed in Chapter 4) that have been adopted in dealing with the CSRs, and to propose hypotheses on the effect that translations might have on British viewers' reception of the selected Chinese films and culture.

In Chapter Six, the main analytical findings that emerged from the audience response test are presented. This chapter consists of seven sections. Following an introduction, Section 6.2 offers a quantitative analysis of British and Chinese audiences' comprehension of the CSRs as represented in the selected film sequences. This analysis has been based mainly on the data generated from the closed-ended questions in the questionnaire. After that, audiences' responses to the open-ended questions in relation to three sample film sequences are analysed in separate sections (6.3 to 6.5). Section 6.6 discusses the audiences' overall assessment on the English subtitles of the excerpts and their suggestions for improvement. The last section of this chapter provides a summary of British and Chinese audiences' performance in the empirical study. The data obtained from the audience response test provides an important supplement to the textual analysis related to the investigation of audience response to the cultural representation in subtitled Chinese films.

This thesis concludes with Chapter Seven, which is structured into three sections. The first section briefly summaries the content of each chapter in the thesis. Section 7.2 recaps main findings from both textual analysis and audience response test. The data that are gathered from both methods are recapped, thus leading to a general assessment on the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British and Chinese audiences. The last section of this chapter discusses the limitations of the present study and its implications for further research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Effect and Translation Studies: Definitions and Literature Review**

In line with the main purpose of examining the effect of English subtitles of Chinese films on British viewers, this Literature Review is structured into six sections. Section 2.1 specifies the key notion of effect and provides a general overview of research on effect in AVT and in Translation Studies more generally. Drawing on the model originating in media effects studies, this section builds a new model for the examination of the effect of subtitled films. Based on the model introduced in the first section, Section 2.2 to Section 2.5 review existing theories regarding the core concept of effect in Communication Studies, Literary Theory, Film Studies and Translation Studies respectively. Based on this interdisciplinary interpretation of the notion of effect, Section 2.6 reviews existing empirical research on audience reception in the field of AVT Studies in particular, thus providing a background that will enable the empirical investigation of the effect of Chinese films with English subtitles later in the present study.

#### **2.1 The Notion of Effect: Background Research**

In an interdisciplinary piece of work like the present one, definitions can be problematic and challenging. Some definitions will be considered alongside the discussions, while others that I thought to be useful or essential notions for understanding this research are discussed below. The key notion underlying this thesis is that of effect, which, in the context of this research, refers to the way media



content influences audiences. The present study explores the notion of effect using various complementary approaches including Communication Studies, Literary Theory, Film Studies and Translation Studies, which share a common interest in discussing effect/reception on receptors. By combining these theories together, it provides an interdisciplinary framework for studying the effect of translated audiovisual materials on audiences. W. James Potter, one of the main theorists of Communication Studies, defines media effects as “those things that occur as a result—either in part or in whole—from media influence” (2012: 38). Different types of media effects on individuals include cognitions, beliefs, attitudes, affects, physiology, and behaviour. Four possible ways have been identified in which media exert their influence on individuals: acquiring, triggering, altering and reinforcing (Potter, 2012: 41-44). These four ways generally span across the above mentioned six types of effects. In other words, in the process of media access, individuals acquire, trigger, alter or reinforce one of the six categories mentioned above or multiple types of media effects.

These different types of media effects may be easily identified in translated texts. Exposure to translated texts provides readers/audiences with factual information. Cognitive effect occurs when individuals attempt to acquire, process and store information as they ‘consume’ the translated texts. The results or effects of this mental process are that individuals might transform information into knowledge or regroup the information and create new meanings. Consumption of the translated texts may also be effective as regards shaping individuals’ beliefs and attitudes towards the world, either altering their original setting or reinforcing them. Affect and physiological effects refer to the emotional feelings that the receptors experience and to the automatic bodily response they may have. For instance, when watching an

action film, no matter whether the film is in the audience's native language or translated, all audiences may experience the same tense feeling and an increase in their heart rates. Different forms of media, such as books, television or films, also produce different effects, whether in their original form or in translation. This similarity of effects on receptors in the consumption of media in both original and translated texts builds the foundation for examining the effect of films and their subtitles.

Reception theory in Literary Theory focused on the notion of effect as part of the experience of reading literature. Reception theory refers to a general shift in attention "from the author and the work to the text and the reader" (Holub, 2003: xii). As introduced in Chapter 1, the term 'reception' in Literary Theory concerns the process of readers perceiving and reacting to texts. Reception theory in Film Studies asks, "What kind of meaning does a text have? For whom? In what circumstances? With what changes over time? And do these meanings have any effects? Cognitive? Emotional? Social? Political?" (Staiger, 2005: 2). For Janet Staiger, a film is seen as a text that develops its meaning in the process of being watched. While literary reception theory explores the effect that a text may have on readers and the role of readers in the process of literature reading, film reception is concerned with the interaction between film and actual spectators. The notion of effect is not widely used in either literary and film studies, since the term 'reception' emphatically considered the receptor as an active participant in the process of reading/watching rather than a subject that merely experiences its impact. However, the discussions undertaken in both literary reception and film studies are still relevant to the present research, as they stress the experience of using a cultural product from the point of view of the user rather than the author (or indeed the translator).

Whereas ‘reception’ in Literary Theory primarily focuses on the functioning of individual readers’ mind and psychological process in literature reading, we understand ‘effect’ here as a notion that encompasses the entire impact of the work on readers and audiences alike. In order to examine an effect, examining the subjects who exert the effect and the subjects who receive them is necessary. This notion recognises both “the structuring role of the text and the constructive role of the viewer in negotiating meaning” (Livingstone, 1998: 21). In the context of the present study, I will primarily focus on the effect of subtitles on the comprehension of the films. The effective subjects are the filmmaker, the creative team (e.g. actors, lighting crew, storyboard artists, musicians and post-production group) and the subtitler, while the receptive subject is their audience/viewer. The term ‘reception’ implies a study focusing on the perception and response by the receptors, which is only one aspect of the effective process. The term ‘effect’ implies two approaches in the present study: the analysis of subtitles as a method of finding features of the target text and research on audience reception to characterise how the target text is interpreted. In the present study, ‘effect’ provides a singular and advantageous vantage point as it enables a double methodological approach, combining conventional textual analysis with an evaluation of audience responses to the same audiovisual material.

In Translation Studies, the effect of translated materials on readers/audiences is still largely under-researched. There is no specific definition of ‘effect’, or similar terms such as ‘reception’, ‘perception’ or ‘response’ available in neither the latest edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2011) nor the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (2014). These terms highlight different aspects of the phenomenon under question. For instance, effect is from the work to the receiver,

whereas reception is from the receiver to the work. Perception in this case has to do with cognition and response designates a voluntary action on the part of the reader. However, in Translation Studies, these terms are often used interchangeably. Denton titled one of his articles “Audience Reception of Translated Audiovisual Texts and the Problem of Visual and Verbal Shared/Unshared Knowledge” (2007), while calling for focus on “target audience perception” in another article co-authored with Ciampi (2012). In the context of the present study, these terms are used according to their meanings and their customary use within each discipline. For example, ‘effect’ is always used in Communication Studies, whereas ‘reception’ and ‘perception’ are more commonly used in Literary Theory and Film Studies.

Lack of research on the effect/reception of translated texts is also indicated by the fact that this theme is not included in either the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (2010) or *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* (2013), two key reference collections. While the former collects articles on various aspects, such as censorship, commercial translation, and norms of translation, the effect of translated texts on receptors is not included. In the same vein, the latter collection defines main objects of Translation Studies which include translation process, the translator and the translation theory. The effect on receptors is not considered either. In contrast, there is a more visible interest in reception studies in the sub-field of media accessibility, e.g. Louise Fryer (2013) and Romero Fresco (2015), who investigate how visually impaired or hard-of-hearing people react to and perceive media products.

In line with this, this research has adopted the notions and models of examining effect in Communication Studies to the studies of effect/reception in Translation Studies and AVT in particular. Denton (2007: 27) suggests that “Media

Studies has devoted an enormous amount of work to reception and response to print and audiovisual media” through interviews and other empirical research methods, which “can easily be extended to AVT Studies”. Terms such as ‘audience reception/perception’ are used in his research referring to the effect on audiences by exposing them to the translated audiovisual materials (Denton, 2007, 2012). In the area of AVT, despite a significant amount of work published on quality assessment and strategy development (Pedersen, 2007; Tang, 2008; Guillot, 2010; Lee, Roskos & Ewoldsen, 2013), few studies seem to be available on the empirical research of the effect of translated audiovisual materials, which is an area of development and interest to current researchers.

Until now, a limited number of studies have been conducted on audience reception of subtitled films or television programmes. Existing research on this issue, e.g. Anrián Fuentes Luque (2003), Bartholomaeus Wissmath et al. (2009), Louisa Desilla (2009, 2012, 2014) and Yuan (2012), are selectively reviewed in Section 2.5. Although these studies all consider the effect of subtitled texts, they have approached this issue from quite different perspectives and have used rather different methods between them (and from the present study). For instance, Wissmath has come from a psychological background. His research primarily focuses on the human experiences and behaviour in the context of real, imaged and virtual environments. In his article, he (2009) has explored the effect of subtitling and dubbing on audiences’ feelings of presence, transportation, flow and enjoyment from a psychological aspect. In addition, AVT Studies have been primarily European-centred. Little research has explored the particular case of China and Chinese films subtitling (Tang, 2008; Yuan, 2010, 2012). The investigation of this research aspires to fill this gap.

Based on the exploration of what the effect is and on presenting an academic

gap in studying effect, the rest of the present section focuses on the question of how to examine effect. Two canonical models, Roman Jakobson's model (1960) influential in Translation Studies, and Harold Lasswell's model (1948), pertinent to Communication Studies, are reviewed. While Jakobson's model places more emphasis on the communication process and the function that each factor has played in this process, Lasswell's model is more relevant to the present study as it brings the matter of effect into the analysis of the communication process. Through the review of these two models, the present study builds a model appropriate for examining the effect of subtitled films in the Chinese to English language pair.

Jakobson (1960: 353) argues that "language must be investigated in all the variety of its functions". According to him, there are six constitutive factors in any speech event and in any act of verbal communication: a sender, a message, a receiver, a code, a contact and a context (Jakobson, 1960). Each factor is necessary for communication to occur. The process of a verbal communication involves the sender, which can be a person or a group of people, who send a message (words, sounds or images) to an addressee. The message operates in a given context—the situation in which the message is sent and which helps determine the meaning of the message; it utilises a code—the way the message is presented in a language or, in the case at hand, in films or television programmes, by using words, images and sound (Berger, 2012: 27); and it needs a contact—"a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee" (Jakobson, 1960: 353). Jakobson schematises his model as follows:

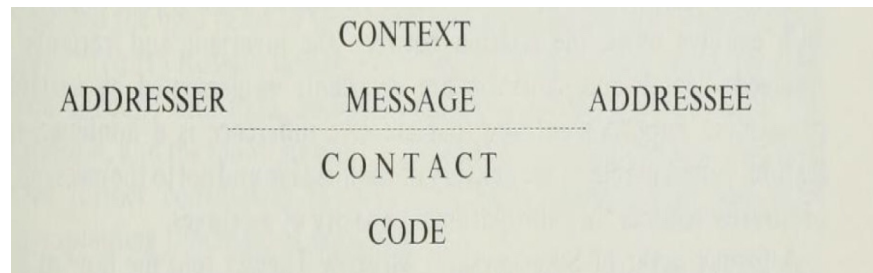


Figure 2.1 Jakobson's model: Factors in verbal communication (1960: 353)

Jakobson (1959/2004: 233) suggests that translation from one language into another should not look for full equivalence of separation code-units, but for entire messages in other language. In this sense, he encourages a more systematic analysis of translation. In spite of the fact that Jakobson is a linguist wrote in the 1950s, his model offers an insight into the factors involved in communication and the process of how a message is received by the receiver. It notices the importance of context, code and contact in influencing the messages to be received by the addressees. Jakobson's model can be adopted for the study of the effect of subtitled films on audiences. His model admits the variables between the addresser and the addressee, which implies that the effective process of subtitles on audiences is not straightfoward. It can be modified by many factors. This suggestion is in agreement with the media effect theories which stress the intervening variables that might influence the effect on media receivers, theories that will be introduced in the following section. However, Jakobson's primary concern is the functions of language in a verbal communication from a linguistic perspective. Based on the analysis of the different factors involved in a communication process, his attention focuses on the analysis the functions of language and the role of each factor has played in performing the functions. The effect of the message on the receiver is not specifically considered.

While Lasswell's model [Figure 2.2] has a number of similarities with the Jakobson's model, it differs from it, inter alia, in that it takes the matter of effect into consideration from the start. Lasswell's formula asks "who says what in which channel to whom with what effect" (Lasswell, 1948: 37). This model suggests a linear process of how a message issued by a sender is received by a receiver and precisely delineates the elements that constitute a communication fact. It divides communication into control analysis (who), content analysis (what), medium analysis (channel), audience analysis (to whom) and effect analysis (audience effect). Lasswell's model sees communication as the transmission of messages and initially raises the issue of effect, which implies an observable change in the receiver (Bhatnagar & Bhatnagar, 2012: 88). It indicates that changing one of these elements will produce analogous/corresponding change in the effect. However, at least two objections have been made to the Lasswell's model: it tends to oversimplify the actual communication process as if the communication was conducted in a vacuum; and also, the feedback from the receiver is not considered in his model (Steinberg, 2007: 53).

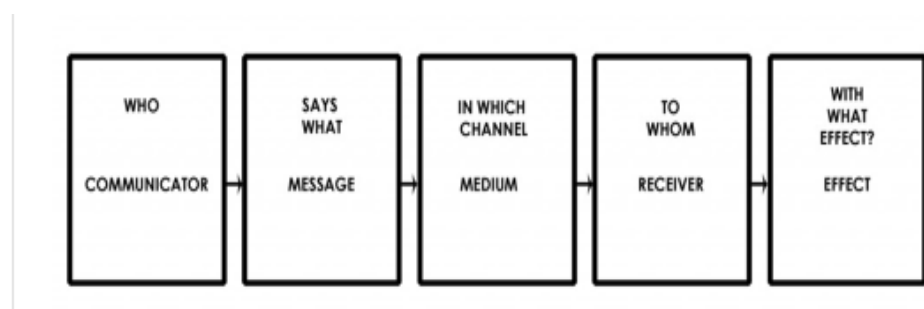


Figure 2.2 Lasswell's model (Lasswell, 1948)

Criticisms of this model are addressed in the present study through a reception study which aims to provide feedback from the receivers on their



comprehension of the translated texts. The present study conducts an empirical research on British and Chinese viewers' responses to the subtitled Chinese films and the findings reveal how each group interprets the translated texts. Thus, lacks and needs in interlingual subtitling from Chinese to English may be identified and could then be used to inform the training of subtitlers or the guidelines to which they are expected to adhere. In addition, British viewers' horizon of expectations, their social differentiations and other factors that might influence their comprehension of the translated texts have been taken into account in the analysis. The effect in the present study is not considered in context-free universals. In this sense, this research addresses the problem of linearity and the absence of consideration on context inherent in Lasswell's model.

Although Lasswell's model was developed specifically to study the communication process of media propaganda during World War II, this model has been applied in different fields to disseminate various messages. Extending Lasswell's model to translated texts, we can see how this model can be adopted to scrutinise subtitled films, in which both the effect of the film itself and of the subtitles have to be considered. In order to accommodate the case of subtitled films, the research on effect can be divided into: control analysis (filmmaker, creative team and subtitler), content analysis (films and subtitled films), medium analysis (images, soundtrack and subtitles), audience analysis (native and foreign) and effect analysis, as illustrated in Figure 2.3:

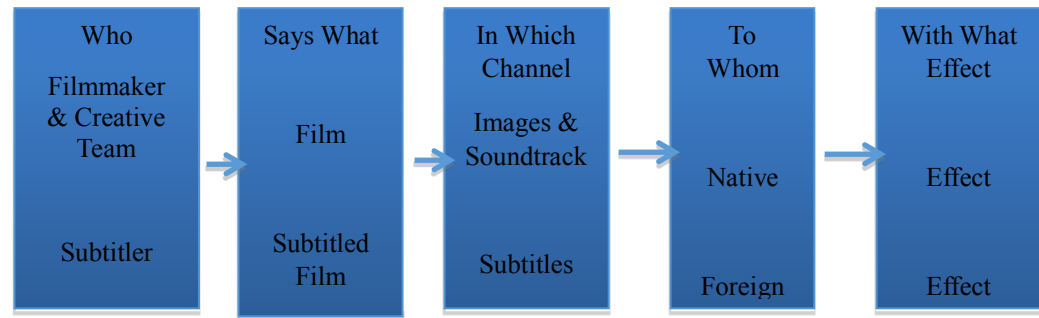


Figure 2.3 Lasswell's model adapted for the case of subtitled films

As presented in Figure 2.3, when examining the effect of subtitled films, the control analysis, which examines the factor of 'who' (communicator) in Lasswell's model, will need to include not only the process of filmmaking, but also the process of subtitling. The filmmaker or creative team tells a story using visual images and sound. On the other hand, the subtitler has the potential to recreate a story by translating all aspects of the source text based on his/her interpretation of the film. Thus, there are two kinds of content that exert effect in subtitled films: the film, which is the original source text, and the subtitled target text. The differences between these two kinds of texts will definitely generate different effects on viewers.

## 2.2 Media Effects in Communication Studies

Section 2.1 reviewed the model of examining effects in Communication Studies and proposed an adapted model for examining such effects of subtitled films. Within this model (as presented in Figure 2.3), this section presents dominant theories and outcomes in the history of media effect research. The discussion of media effects has a long history and can mainly be divided into four phases, according to McQuail (2010: 455-461): all-powerful media, theory of powerful

media put to the test, powerful media rediscovered, and negotiated media influence. The theories and findings in the first and third phases will only be mentioned briefly in this section, while the theories in the second and fourth phases will be reviewed in more detail as they are more relevant to the present study. In the second phase, the intervening variables between media influence and the response from receivers were taken into consideration, which compensated for the extreme linearity of Lasswell's model. The media's function of constructing social meanings in the fourth phase is also reviewed in some detail. Based on the review of these theories, this section discusses the effect of subtitled films on transferring Chinese culture abroad and constructing the image of China for Western audiences, and more specifically for British viewers.

The first phase of media effects extends from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1930s, an era when media were credited with considerable power to shape opinion and belief, to change habits of life and to mould behaviour according to the will of their controllers (Bauer & Bauer, 1960). It was then believed that masses were considered to be non-resistant to the media information once it was sent. Media message was therefore compared to a bullet. In this phase, believing that media had all-powerful effects on receivers was not based on scientific investigation but on observation of the enormous popularity of the media products that intruded into many aspects of everyday life. Aware of this problem, "systematic research using survey and experimental methods, and drawing on social psychology, was begun during the 1920s and 1930s" (McQuail, 2010: 456).

The second phase started in the early 1930s and ended in the early 1960s. Beginning with a series of experimental studies on the influence of films on children and young people, researchers in this phase realised that there was no direct or one-

to-one link between media stimulus and audience response as suggested by scholars in the first phase. The intervening effects of social and demographic variables, such as age, education and gender, on the affectivity of media power were noticed. Media were seen as operating within a pre-existing social and cultural context. Media were assigned a more modest role in causing any planned or unintended effects (McQuail, 2010).

The most influential group of theories in this second phase are the selective influence theories, which suggest that individual differences, social differentiations and social relationships (between members of audiences) can contribute to or interfere with the simple Stimulus-Response relation (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 198). These theories argue that individuals have diverse responses to the same media content, while different responses can be categorised by age, gender, social class or other social differentiations. Circulation within social networks might also influence the effects that media have on individuals. Each factor influences the media receivers' selection of media forms, interpretation of media information, memory of media content, and actions based on media information (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 195). The Selective Influence Theories model can be represented as follows:

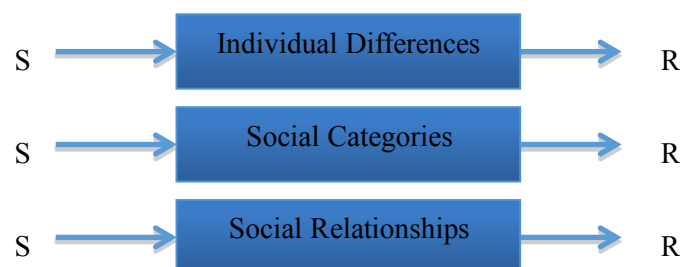


Figure 2.4 Selective influence theories (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 196)

Note: S denotes stimulus and R denotes response

As displayed in Figure 2.4, the media effects on readers/audiences are modified by many variables, mainly including individual differences, social differentiations and social networks. A close link can be set up between translated texts and these theories. As individuals' schemata are frequently culture-bound, source audiences are expected to draw upon their background knowledge to fill in the parts of a text that are not made explicit (Denton, 2007: 28). Therefore, when the same text is processed in a source culture and a target culture, misunderstanding or misinterpretation can occur. The effect of translated texts is negotiated between the translated texts and these variables within the target audience. This negotiation and how these variables modify the effect of translated texts on audiences will be explained in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6 when analysing the sample subtitles and their effect on audiences.

In the third phase (the 1950s and 1960s), the all-powerful media theory was modified to focus on the long-term change on audiences, towards what people learn from the media directly or indirectly (McQuail, 2010: 458). The present study focuses primarily on the short-term and observable effect from film watching and subtitle reading. Thus, the theories of the third phase will not be discussed here.

The theories in the fourth phase, which explore the effect of media on audiences' construction of social meaning, are essential for the current study. In the late 1970s, research on media effects entered into a fourth phase in which social constructivism as a new approach emerged. This theory suggests that "the media have their most significant effects by constructing meanings" (McQuail, 2010: 459). Within the framework of social constructivism, Melvin DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach (1989: 258) suggest that "meanings and interpretations of reality are socially constructed". Media tend to offer a view of social reality through the

information provided and the way it is interpreted. What people perceive are representations by media. Thus, people are experiencing a mediated world instead of an objective reality.

In fact, back in the 1920s, Walter Lippmann (1922), whose theory was originated in press analysis, had discussed the function of media in similar terms. Lippmann explored “how the press’s interpretations of events could radically alter people's interpretations of reality and their consequent patterns of action” (cited in DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 259). His main point was that the depictions of the press often create distorted or even false pictures in people’s minds for the world outside and people act not “on the basis of what truly is taking place”, but “on the basis of what they think is the real situation obtained from depictions” of the press or other media type (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 260). In other words, the ‘reality’ provided by media creates illusions in people’s minds and these serve as knowledge of reality that shapes conduct (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 262).

Developed from Lippmann’s work, DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach’s (1989) theory distinguishes three kinds of ‘reality’ in the process of media access: objective reality—the reality of the objective world; symbolic reality—the reality presented by the media; and subjective reality—the reality perceived by an individual subject. People are increasingly in contact with mediated representations of a complex world rather than the objective features of narrow personal surroundings (1989: 258). Mass media, through selective presentations and the emphasis on certain themes, can impact on readers’/audiences’ construction of the world, social life and social reality.

In what follows, the application of media effect theory in the investigation of the effect of films and, more specifically, subtitled films is discussed. The media effect of meaning construction can be applied in the case of film, to the extent that it

also constructs symbolic realities and affects interpretations and beliefs. In the specific case of Zhang Yimou's films, this is even more true given that he proposes motivated representations of Chinese tradition and history which are explicitly addressed to foreign audiences, and which are aimed at transforming people's perceptions and ideas about Chinese. In this way, the stunning visual display and the exhibition of traditional Chinese rituals in his films may build a 'symbolic reality' for audiences, which represents a new form of exoticisation and orientalisation. Being internationally successful, his films have also been criticised for misrepresenting an exotic and mysterious orientation to Western audiences (see the analysis in Section 1.3.1). The effect of Zhang Yimou's films in shaping an imagined the image of China and Chinese culture for British viewers will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3 within the context of Said's Orientalism discourse. Empirical research in the present study may provide findings either in support or against this criticism of Zhang's films. It may also help to reveal what effect exposure to Chinese films and subtitles may have on audiences.

The effective process of meaning construction of subtitled films is more complex. Subtitling involves a great amount of editorial and rewriting work, which can be regarded as a second script writing. The extent to which the subtitles convey the aesthetic in the target version of the films can vary according to the degree of effect on audiences. In a sense, the film constructs meaning that is related to the filmmakers' artistic intentions, but it is not necessarily the same meaning as that constructed by the viewers. The meaning that emanates from the filmmakers' intentions and which awaits to be constructed by the viewers is also mediated through the subtitles. Thus, for Western audiences who do not speak the original language and rely on subtitles, the effect draws on the symbolic reality represented

by both films and subtitles, which can be illustrated in Figure 2.5:

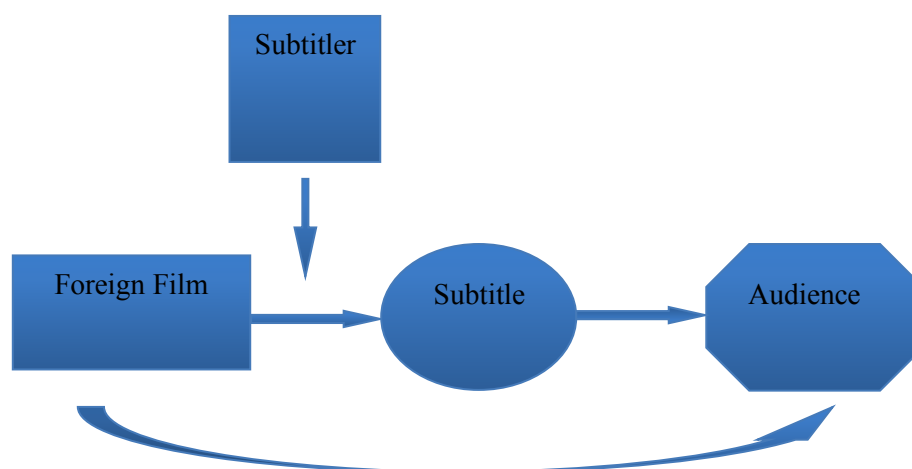


Figure 2.5 Construction function on subtitled film

By combining theories from the second and fourth phases, we can identify the process of subtitled films effect on audiences as follows: the films and subtitles construct social formations by framing audiovisual texts and language transfer respectively, while audiences construct their own view of social reality in interaction with the symbolic constructions offered by the films and the intervening variables. While each of the above models (Figure 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5) analyses one aspect or factor of the effective process, this research combines these models and applies them to the analysis of the effect of subtitled films. This comprehensive model is illustrated in Figure 2.6.



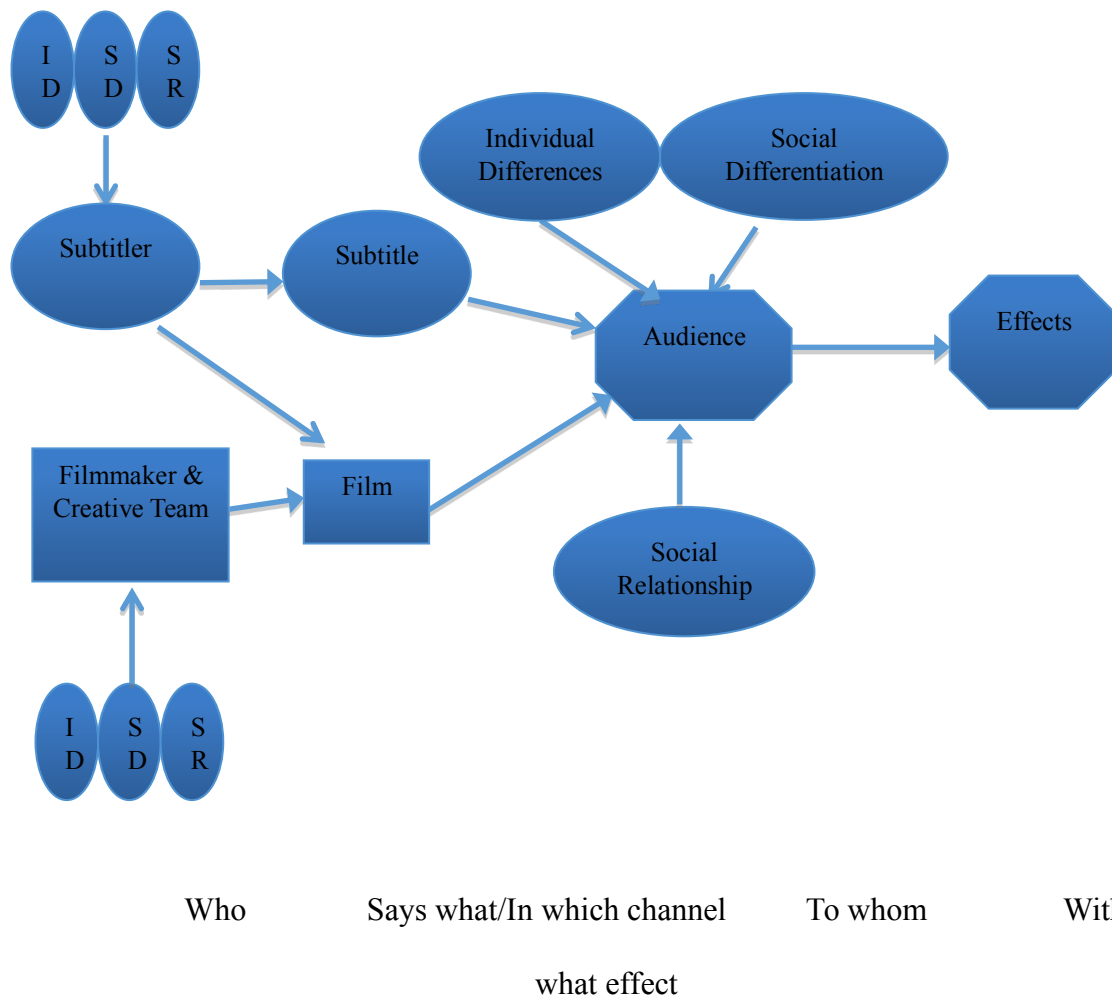


Figure 2.6 Reception of subtitled films

(Note: ID denotes Individual Differences; SD denotes Social Differentiations; SR denotes Social Relationships)

As presented in Figure 2.6, the effect of subtitled films comes from two types of contents, the film itself and the subtitles. Filmmaker and creative team influence audiences by telling them a story with the film. Subtitlers have the potential to affect audiences via their translation choices. Thus, the effective process of subtitled films can be viewed as a negotiation between what is offered in the films and subtitles and what a receiver is inclined to accept, given his/her individual differences, social

differentiations and social relationships.

### **2.3 Reception and Effect in Literary Theory**

This section offers a review of the reception theory as it evolved in Literary Theory. Special attention has been paid to works from two major theorists, Jauss and Iser. The key notions of “aesthetics of reception” and “horizon of expectations” from Jauss are explained, while Iser’s understanding of “meaning” and his concepts of “implied reader” and “communicatory structure of the literary text” are also introduced. Both Iser and Jauss focus on “a reconstitution of literary theory by drawing attention away from the author and the text and refocusing it on the text-reader relationship” (Holub, 2003: 82). Rather than asking what a work of literature means, they turned their attention to what a work does to the reader—the effect of literature reading on the reader. Reception theory places more emphasis on the active role of the reader in literature reading, through which the reader has participated in the process of exerting an effect on his/her reading.

Reception theory originated from the work of Jauss in the late 1960s and became most influential during the 1970s and early 1980s, particularly in Germany and the USA. Jauss led the so-called Konstanz School of the study of literature, which soon became internationally renowned. The methodology used by the Konstanz school is referred to as *Rezeptionsästhetik* (aesthetics of reception), which stresses reading as a constitutive element of any text (Jauss, 1982: viii).

Jauss endeavours to establish connections between literary production and general history. One of the most important contributions of Jauss’s theoretical work is to construct the notion of a reception-oriented history. Jauss views literature “from

the perspective of the reader or consumer” and treats literature “as a dialectical process of production and reception” (Holub, 2003: 57). He developed an “aesthetics of reception” for Literary Theory, which defines the history of literature as “a process of aesthetic reception and production that takes place in the realization of literary texts on the part of the receptive reader” (Jauss, 1982: 21). He proposes that in the triangle of author, work and public, the public plays a dynamic part in literary production, rather than a passive part consisting of mere reactions. The life of a literary work relies on the active participation of its addressees; literature only gains a place in history when the succession of works is mediated through the consuming subject, the interaction of author and public (1982: 15).

The integration of history and aesthetics is accomplished largely by the introduction of the notion of “horizon of expectations” (Jauss, 1982). The receiver’s experience of life is rooted in social and cultural contexts which shape his or her expectations and interpretations of texts. In the process of reading a piece of literature, the work enters into a reader’s horizon of expectations and the effect of the text on a reader is negotiated with the reader’s horizon of expectations. Through the process of mediation, an inversion occurs “from simple reception to critical understanding, from passive to active reception, from recognised aesthetic norms to a new production” (Jauss, 1982: 19). The result is that a certain piece of work can offer various meanings under different circumstances and can be interpreted differently by readers even if they belong to the same social and historical background.

The negotiation between a given work and the “horizon of expectations” stands at the heart of Jauss’s theory of literary evaluation. Jauss contends that the artistic character of a work is determined “by the kind and the degree of its influence

on a presupposed audience” (Jauss, 1982: 25). Aesthetic distance, defined as the “difference or separation between the horizon of expectations and the work”, can be measured by the “spectrum of the audiences’ reaction and criticism’s judgments” (1982: 25). Taking receptors’ reaction to a literary work as a criterion for literary evaluation grants receptors sufficient attention they need.

However, Jauss’s theory has been subjected to criticism because his definition of ‘horizon of expectations’ is so vague that “it could include or exclude any previous sense of the world” (Holub, 2003: 59). In other words, what comprises the horizon of expectations is not explicit, not to mention analysing how it has influenced the perception of the receptors. Furthermore, whether a work has disappointed, exceeded or destroyed expectations and when it has done so is difficult to measure. In spite of the vagueness and shortcomings of the notion of horizon, it is valuable for the present study as it brings readers’ expectations into the account of examining the effect of texts on receptors. This research, examining the effect of films and subtitles on British and Chinese audiences, may provide an account of how the horizon of expectations has influenced audiences’ reception of translated texts.

Most of Iser’s key notions are incorporated into his work *The Act of Reading* (1978), which is an elaboration and expansion of his earlier theories, *The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach* (1972) and *The Implied Reader* (1974). The essence of Iser’s proposition is taking literature as interaction between the reader and the text. Iser (1978) maps out three domains to explore the reader’s response. He contends that the text contains potential that must be actualised or concretised by the reader and examines the potential of a text to allow and manipulate the production of meaning. Secondly, Iser examines the processing of the text in literature reading. Thirdly, Iser proposes a communicatory structure of the literary text, which concerns

the conditions that give rise to and govern the text-reader interaction. These three aspects concern not only how meaning is produced, but also what effect reading literature has on the reader and what effect the reader has on literature.

As Robert C. Holub (2003: 83) suggested, what has interested in Iser is “the question of how and under what conditions a text has meaning for a reader”. In contrast to traditional interpretations, which seek to elucidate a hidden meaning in the text, Iser sees meaning as the result of an interaction between text and reader, as “an effect to be experienced”, not an “object to be defined” (Iser, 1978: 10). From this, Iser concludes the two poles of literary work: the artistic and the aesthetic. The artistic pole is the text created by the author, and the aesthetic is the realisation accomplished by the reader (Iser, 1974; Iser, 1978). The text, released by its author, might be seen as a set of signs or a system of signals. It offers different views through which the subject matter of the work can be produced, while the actual production takes place through an act of reading. The literary work lies halfway between the two poles. The convergence of text and reader brings the literary work into existence (Iser, 1974: 274).

To describe the interaction between text and reader, Iser introduces the concept of “implied reader”, whom the text is created for (Iser, 1974). The implied reader is an assumed image of the addressee to whom the work is directed (Schmid, 2009: 170). The text allows a spectrum of possible readings. It produces “a network of response-inviting structures”, which leads the reader to read in certain ways (Selden et al., 2005: 53). The term implied reader “incorporates both the prestructuring of the potential meaning by the text, and the reader’s actualisation of this potential through the reading process” (Iser, 1974: xii). In the process of reading, the implied reader becomes the actual reader whose actualisation of the meaning will

inevitably be coloured by his/her existing stock of experience. When reading a text, the reader is continuously evaluating and perceiving events with regard to the expectations for the future and against the background of the past. An unexpected occurrence will therefore cause the reader to reformulate his/her expectations in accordance with this event in order to reinterpret the significance he/she has attributed to what has already occurred (Holub, 2003: 90). What Iser seeks is a “transcendental model” that “embodies all the predispositions necessary for a literary work to exercise its effect” (Iser, 1978: 38 & 34). However, the empirical interference has been precluded by him. In other words, while Iser searches a way to account for the reader’s presence, he has neglected to deal with real readers empirically. In translation, more often than not, the translators are aiming at an implied reader. Any discrepancies between the implied reader and real readers should point at the necessity of reception studies.

Finally, Iser investigates the “communicatory structure of the literary text”, the conditions that govern the interaction between text and reader. Iser (1978: 182) proposes two basic structures of indeterminacy in the text, namely, blanks and negations. Blanks “designate a vacancy in the overall system of the text, the filling of which brings about an interaction of textual patterns” (Iser, 1978: 182). They break up the expected order of the text, thereby preventing connectability. The function of blanks is to mark the suspension of connectability between textual segments. On the other hand, blanks function as the “unseen joints of the texts” (Iser, 1978: 183). They form a condition for the connection to be established by building images on the reader’s part and make the text connected to the reader’s own experience. Moreover, in the reading process, readers often become aware of the norms of the social system in which they live. Through filling in blanks, the reader “acquires a perspective from

which previously accepted norms appear obsolete or invalid” (Holub, 2003: 94). When this occurs, a ‘negation’ takes place. The meaning of a text lies in the continuous adjustments and revisions to expectations, which are brought about in the readers’ mind in the interaction between text and reader. The effect of a literary work on the reader lies between filling the blanks and negating pre-existing norms.

Along with Jauss, Iser contributed to shifting the focus from the author to the reader in German literary theory in the late 1960s. Iser’s theory helps to elucidate the complexities involved in the reading process itself. In contrast to earlier theories, Iser sees this process “not as a simple appropriation of words printed on a page, but as a matrix of complex experiential and intellectual activities” (Holub, 2003: 106). His concern for the details of interaction with texts provides “a previously underexplored avenue of access to actual texts” (Holub, 2003: 106). However, Iser’s theory remains largely within the bounds of textual criticism. The search for meaning in literature and the concept of the implied reader have recourse only to the functions operating within the work. Iser’s theory has been criticised as “involving little more than interpreting the text” (*ibid*: 100). Moreover, Iser speculates on how the reader reacts and fills in the blanks. Both of these aspects are ultimately immanent constructs. The response of a reader is a product of an abstract performance, which is hard to be observed.

Equally relevant to the argument in the present study are Iser’s views on film. Iser indicates that the primary role that the visual image plays is eliminating indeterminacy (Iser, 1978: 138). He explains that, when reading a novel, the reader imagines the images of the character and puts together various facets that are revealed in the novel at different times, whereas in film, the character is exposed to the audience as a whole in every situation. However, whether the audience really

sees the character ‘as a whole’ just because they see an image on screen is debatable as films co-deploy gesture, gaze, movement, visual images, sound, colours and so on. In AVT, although many kinds of texts with different types of signs can be dealt with, the focus tends to be limited to the linguistic features (Gambier, 2006: 7). To what extent the target text can convey the semiotic signs as displayed in the original films depends on the active participation of the target audience. In this sense, films, especially subtitled films, have neither eliminated the indeterminacy, nor relieved audiences from their productive role. The effect of subtitled films requires active participation from audiences.

Despite the criticisms mentioned above, the significance and value of Jauss’s and Iser’s work should not be underestimated. What Jauss, Iser, and their followers advocated was a shift “from a concern with the effects of authorial-intended meanings to a concern with meanings as created by readers” (Thompson, 1993: 256). These theories concern the socio-historical conditions for reading and responding to texts, which had a considerable impact on the study of translation. This meant that the study of translation can move away from a linguistic oriented approach based on ST and TT comparison, towards the study within a social and cultural context (Brems & Pinto, 2013: 143).

In addition, although Jauss and Iser’s primary concern was for literary reception, their theories may be adapted to the reception of audiovisual materials. As observed by Graeme Turner (1993: 79), “there is a high degree of cross-cultural coding where audiences agree to accept an imported system of meaning” in order to enjoy the film. Film viewing, like reading, “involves an act of translation from the text to the internalised discourse of the reader” (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 1994: 12). The analysis of reception theory can be applied to pinpoint the role of audiences in both



film watching and subtitle reading, and thus, contributes to this present study. The theories of the horizon of expectations, implied reader and so on also account for the effect of films and subtitles on audiences. The success of a subtitled film lies in audiences' participation in the process of appreciation. The present study, adopting the findings of reception theory, thus explores what effect Chinese films and subtitles have on audiences.

## **2.4 Film Reception and Audience Research**

Section 2.2 and 2.3 explored the concept of effect/reception in Communication Studies, and Literary Theory, respectively. Based on this, the present section investigates the notion of reception in the context of Film Studies. It offers a critical review of relevant literature which focuses on the experience of film viewing. Through the review, this section intends to set the stage for later discussions on audience reception of subtitled films.

Audience research and reception theory in Film Studies ask questions about “how we make sense of films and what they mean in our lives” (Jenkins, 2000: 166). In trying to understand issues of reception in film, the present study has concentrated on aspects that are not strictly cinematic (referring to the film as a particular aesthetic/cultural artefact), but more broadly textual and cultural. Hence, the review in this section has turned to research not only by film theorists but also by scholars in Media and Communication Studies (e.g. Fiske, 1982/1990, 1989; Turner, 1990/2003; Staiger, 2005) as well as Literary Theory, whose research shares common characteristics in emphasising the relationship of readers/audiences to texts.

Integrating cognitive social psychology with reception theories from literary

criticism, Sonia M. Livingstone (1998) analysed the process of interpretation of television programmes. She (1998: 35) argues that while the literary critic may be interested in what the text means in relation to literary theories and other texts, the media researcher is more concerned with the question of effect. She (1998: 12) contends that research on effect is probably one of the most researched areas in media studies. For this type of research, the question is not how the text is produced, but rather, what meanings does it produce and reproduce (*ibid*). The text plays a structuring role in producing meanings, while the viewer takes on a constructive role.

Compared with audience research in television studies (e.g. Hall, 1980/1993; Livingstone, 1998; Gorton, 2009), relatively few theoretical and methodological approaches have particularly focused on the issue of audience reception of films. Some of the research that explores this issue (e.g. Staiger, 1992, 2000; Klinger, 1997) has examined film reception from a historical perspective and focused specifically on Hollywood films. As Staiger (1992: 80-81) writes, the prime objective of this type of research is not to secure new contextualised meanings for texts, but to attempt a “historical explanation of the event of interpreting a text” by tracing the “range of interpretive strategies available in particular social formations”. Whilst these studies are fruitful, they are different to the work on film reception like the present study, where the emphasis lies on the ways audiences interpret the films they watch and thus, are not scrutinised in this section.

In a similar vein, Mark Jancovich et al. (2003) look at the sites and practices of film exhibition and consumption in Nottingham, an urban context in the East Midlands, in chronological order. Instead of film itself, their research is more concerned with the place of film consumption within the changing cultural politics of the city. It considers the social and cultural meanings associated with film exhibition

and the impact of cinemas on the local areas (Chopra-Gant, 2003). Film consumption and film-going are seen as a social activity, which has more to do with social interaction and personal relationships than with film texts. This view is shared by Judith Mayne (1993). For Mayne, watching a film is “a passion or a leisure-time activity” and a “culturally significant event” that viewers take pleasure in (1993: 1). Her research looks at the major paradigms that shaped inquiry into spectatorship in the 1970s and draws upon case studies to discuss these models of analysis. While this section refers to some of the theories in these studies, these studies are not immediately relevant to the present research, which is particularly interested in film reception that focuses on the dialectic between the perception/construction of audiovisual meaning by the spectator and the notion of effect upon the audience.

The development of media reception studies, which include research on the reception of both television programmes and films, is directly related to the rise of post-Second World War opinion polls and persuasion research (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Hovland et al., 1949). This research demonstrated the power of mass propaganda (in the form of both television programmes and films) and the ability of media to control its audiences ideologically. During this period, the media audience was seen as “an undifferentiated mass, who passively receive the meanings of the media as given, and who are affected by these meanings” (Livingstone, 1998: 17-18). The main ideas of the relations between the media and the audience during this period were discussed in Section 2.2, when I introduced the first phase of media effects research.

The notion of powerful media was criticised by theorists in Cultural Studies such as John Fiske. Fiske (1989) sees popular culture, such as the phenomenon of Madonna, shopping malls or television news, as texts whose meanings are activated

differently by people in their own interests. Individuals actively engage with the texts and give them personal meanings. Fiske (1989: 3) contends that “texts are activated, or made meaningful, only in social relations and in intertextual relations”. The activation of the potential meaning of a text occurs in social and cultural contexts at the moment of reading. According to Kristyn Gorton (2009: 15), this perception of the relationship of audiences to texts sets up a debate between the audience as a ‘passive dupe’ or as an ‘active agent’, a debate that has been persistent for decades. As with Fiske, an increasing number of scholars started to challenge the critical assumption of the absolute domination of mass media over audiences and to appreciate the differences that exist in different sub-groups and demographics. While such work was more common in television studies, film scholars “have adopted ethnographic techniques to describe the process of media consumption” and the process of sensemaking of filmic images (Jenkins, 2000: 173). This kind of research explores how social factors, such as gender, age, ethnicity, class, or subculture affiliations, influence film spectatorship through empirical approaches (focus groups, interviews, experiments, etc.).

These experimental approaches of film studies have been much criticised. Critics pointed to “the unnatural context of the laboratory research”, in which subjects are typically exposed to an artificially constructed segment of texts (Livingstone, 1998: 14). In addition, the individuals are often isolated in non-natural viewing conditions. These experiments paid scant attention to possible roles of context, expectations, casual encounters, etc., and thus elicited distorted interpretations of what viewers might understand about films. These criticisms provoked a crisis in film reception research (Harré & Secord, 1972) and “formed part of a longstanding debate on the reliability and validity of experimental research”

(Livingstone, 1998: 14).

Out of disappointment with the experimental approach, researchers started to incorporate social cognition into the study of film reception. This approach requires the “recognition of a more informed and heterogeneous audience than hitherto conceived, with the audience playing a more active part in the creation of meanings” (Livingstone, 1998: 18). Recognising audience activity and following what literary scholars had explored regarding the ‘Death of the Author’ (Barthes, 1967), Fiske (1982/1990) argues that a message is what the audience makes of it and changes the focus of reception from mass domination to the differences between audience groups. As Donald F. Roberts and Christine Bachen (1981: 318) suggest, in the context of mass communication, “differences in response may derive from variations in how similar messages are interpreted by different people or by similar people under different conditions”. These studies thus focus on how people interpret and incorporate information transmitted by the media into their existing conceptualisations of the world.

Audience research and reception theory in Film Studies also draws on work in reader-response criticism, social and cultural history, cognitive science and psychoanalysis (Jenkins, 2000). The processes of reception and the criticisms of traditional analytical models have much in common with regard to film and literature. For the classical approach of Film Studies which was influenced by literary reader-response theory, the meaning of a text was seen to be given within the text itself. Content analysis or structuralist textual analysis were used as methods to reveal the meaning of a film. While such analyses are revealing, they still search for ‘true’ meanings of the text, based on context-free universals in meaning. The meaning of the text is conceived as static rather than dynamic. The viewer is thus conceived as

“passively receptive and mindless” (Livingstone, 1998: 3). The problem is that, for both structural and content analysis, “the meanings which analysts find in the text may not be those which a reader finds” (Livingstone, 1998: 34).

According to Stuart Hall (1980/1993), these interpretations neglected the cycling of meanings between culture, producers and consumers. Messages are ‘encoded’ by the producers and ‘decoded’ by their audiences. As Hall (1980/1993: 93) argues, before the message can have an ‘effect’, “it must first be appropriated as meaningful discourse and meaningfully decoded”. In other words, a cultural product, such as a film, can have a variety of meanings. The viewer is an important agent in ‘decoding’ meaning. The viewer interacts with the film, taking pleasure in watching it and giving it a meaning (Mayne, 1993). In addition, the role of context, both as regards production and reading, is underestimated in the classical approach to film reception studies. Both interpersonal and mediated communications are “complex, rule-governed, constructive set[s] of processes”, and thus, people’s role in such communications are “knowledgeable, skilled, motivated, and diverse” (Livingstone, 1998: 3). Such problems have led to the rise of the reader-oriented approach in film reception research.

The reader-oriented approach concerns how or to what extent a reader or a viewer manages to work out the connotation of the utterances in a film or to access the filmmakers’ communicative intentions. According to Henry Jenkins (2000: 169), reader-response criticism in film “starts with textual analysis, trying to determine points where readers might go beyond the information provided, exploring how the film shapes that range of possible inferences”. The difference between this approach and other audience theories “is not whether or not we discuss spectatorship, but how we access and talk about audience response” (Jenkins, 2000: 166). Other theorists

speak of an ‘ideal reader’ or a ‘subject position’ created by the text. Textually ascribed meanings are assumed to be reproduced fairly directly in spectators’ heads (*ibid*). However, within the paradigm of the reader-oriented approach, audiences are understood to be active rather than passive. They actively engage in a process of making meanings, rather than simply absorbing pre-existing ones. The production and reproduction of meaning are conceived as “part of a dynamic and mutually reinforcing cycle” (Livingstone & Das, 2013: 1). This approach stresses the interrelationship between texts and viewers. Films are conceptualised as “structured, culturally-located, symbolic” texts that can only be understood in relation to readers and which, together with readers, generate meanings (Livingstone, 1998: 6).

So far, this section presented a sketch of dominant theories and research on audience reception. Based on this, the content that follows discusses the factors that might have an impact on audience reception in order to contextualise the interaction of Western viewers with Chinese films. Staiger (2000: 1) lists “intertextual knowledge (including norms of how to interpret data from moving images and sounds)”, “personal psychologies” and “sociological dynamics”, as contextual factors that account for the experience of spectators watching films and television. She (2000) suggests that individuals have multiple identities in a society. These identities “intersect to produce groups of responses that may be linked to broader dynamics of class, race, and ethnicity, generation, gender, and sexuality identities” (2000: 2). This view, by stressing the shared experiences of a group of people due to gender, or social class, echoes the notion of ‘horizon of expectations’ in literary criticism.

Livingstone also recognises the importance of contexts in considering reception. She (1998: 35) argues that interpretive operations are “determined by

cultural and cognitive practices”. The context of the viewer and the act of watching are likely to lead to different relationships between the text and the viewer. Livingstone adduces the analysis of Tony Bennett (1983: 22) on James Bond films, which argues that “the process of reading is not one in which reader and text meet as abstractions, but rather one in which an intertextually organised reader meets an intertextually organised text” within a historically and culturally specific context. Bennett (1983) believes that text, context, and reader all play vital roles in shaping interpretation. According to Barbara Klinger (1997: 108), Bennett redefined the object of literary analysis from the text to the intertext, i.e. the network of discourses, which involves social institutions and historical conditions surrounding a work. This inspired the development of reception studies in film, in which intertextual elements such as censorship, exhibition practices, the dominant ideologies of society and social situations are engaged in the elaboration of audience interpretation.

Beyond contextual factors, the interpretative or sensemaking process differs according to genre. Max Louwerse and Don Kuiken (2004) suggest that personal involvement while reading/viewing depends on prior narrative comprehension. Viewers make inferences about the genre-specific roles of characters as ‘examples’ of certain themes/moral categories and relate these characters to their sense of realism. The perceived realism of character representation has compelling effects on aesthetic appreciation. Different film genres invite different viewer positions: viewers may identify with particular characters and nurture empathy; or they may see the characters as role models and emulate their actions (Kuiken et al., 2004). Imagery ‘fills in’ what remains implicit in the unfolding of the story as the film proceeds, which will have a profound effect on viewers’ engagement with and interpretation of the film. Jenkins (2000) argues that the initial framing of the film



genre determines the viewers' subsequent responses to new and unfamiliar works. Genre classifications shape the priority that viewers place on particular plot details, the meanings they ascribe to various textual features, the expectations they form about likely story developments, their predictions about its resolution, and their extrapolations regarding information not explicitly presented (Jenkins, 2000: 171).

Perceived realism is also related to the viewer's world knowledge of and experience with the content of the narrative. Melanie C. Green (2004) explores the relevance of the content of a text to the reader/viewer and reports that individuals with prior knowledge or experience relevant to the themes of the story (e.g. they had homosexual friends or family members, were knowledgeable about American fraternities) showed greater involvement. Viewers come to a film equipped with considerable knowledge from past experience with film narrative or from real-world experience. The extent to which readers thought that characters acted like real people would have a considerable effect on their interpretation of the film that they have just watched. It is in this sense that Livingstone (1998) stresses the importance of viewers' prior knowledge and experiences in considering reception. She argues that past experience is represented as default values for the specific situation faced, which may be presumed or inferred for most situations (1998: 84). When watching a film, viewers use not only the information in the film, but also their past experience with film, its genre, and their own personal and social experiences with the phenomena portrayed (*ibid*: 18). They integrate these different sources into their interpretations, and thus, the effect of a film is a negotiation between the information in the programme and their own interpretations.

In the case of Western viewers retrieving meaning from Chinese films, the structure of the text, the experienced relation between the viewer and the text, and

the interpretation of the text are all complexly bound up together. While watching a Chinese film, Western viewers' real-world knowledge, ideological filters (e.g. Orientalism), their familiarity with the genre of the film and the specific situation of viewing all integrate in a coherent and complex way and shape their interpretation of a film. In the process of making sense of the film, they draw inferences not only from the film itself, but also from their own personal and social experiences with regard to China, Chinese, as well as the film genre and their past experience with it. A particular and located set of meanings are created through an active process of negotiation and integration. In this process, their prior exposure to similar genres of films and intertextual situations are particularly important in depicting expectations and desires they may have brought to a specific film.

Apart from those mentioned above, other strands of film reception studies include the examination of advertisements, film trailers, reviews, and other textual materials which shape audience expectations, and the examination of some highly visible filmmakers, such as Alfred Hitchcock, Charlie Chaplin and Steven Spielberg (Kapsis, 1992; Maland, 1989; Morris, 2007). Overall, audience research in Film Studies has increasingly "rejected large-scale generalisations about spectatorship, demanding a more contingent 'case-study' approach" (Jenkins, 2000: 177). Theoretical and critical developments of ethnographic research, psychoanalysis, feminism and film history affect the transformation of academic research today. However, as Jenkins (2000: 174) suggests, audience research in Film Studies still needs to become more self-conscious about the theoretical implications of its methodologies. Academic film studies are still struggling with the implications of this 'discovery of the reader'. In addition, the issue of effect or reception becomes more complicated when it comes to foreign films, in which translation plays an

important role. The discussion of this issue is placed in the section that follows.

## **2.5 The Notion of Effect in Translation Studies**

Continuing this exploration of the theme of effect, Section 2.5 investigates translation theories concerning the effect of translated texts on receptors. ‘Effect’ has been used in different ways in Translation Studies. One could point to pragmatics-oriented approaches, such as Ernst-August Gutt’s (2000) relevance-theory inspired approach and Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer’s (1984/2013) functional approach (the introduction of both approaches is placed later in this section). Nevertheless, Nida was among the first linguists who emphasise the importance of pragmatic knowledge in translation and the first to use the notion of effect. His theory of dynamic equivalence broadened the scope of translation studies. Translation Studies, for the first time, paid attention to the non-linguistic factors influencing the translation and the translation process. Nida’s principle of equivalent effect marked an important turn in translation theory from the ‘linguistic stage’ to the ‘communicative stage’, that is, a shift in focus from the form of message to the response of the receiver of the message (Nida & Taber, 1969/2003). Many of the leading translation theorists of the past few decades, e.g. Wolfram Wilss (1977), Werner Koller (1979) and Mildred L. Larson (1984), have built upon the foundation he laid.

The present study revisits the work of Nida in particular, exploring his understanding of the notion of effect in relation to dynamic equivalence theory and his important influence on subsequent translators. Nida’s notion of effect contributes to the study of effect in the current research by initially introducing a receptor-based

orientation to translation and by taking equivalence of response as one of the fundamental criteria for the evaluation of translation (Nida, 1964: 182). Just like Nida's theory, the current study concerns the issue of effect, but in the context of audiovisual translation. Nida's theory has been criticised in terms of whether it is possible to achieve an equivalent effect on receptors with different cultures and its insistence on the scientific character of the translating process (Broeck, 1978; Hu, 1992a, 1992b, 1993a, 1993b, 1994; Gentzler, 1993/2001). This section reviews these criticisms in order to critically re-evaluate the notion of effect in Nida's theory.

Nida's theory is expounded in two of his major works, *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964) and *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (1969/2003, co-authored with Charles Taber). His later works were basically the modifications or the development of these two works. In these two volumes, Nida elaborates his receptor-oriented translation approach in detail: he works out a translation model which attempts to describe scientifically the process of transfer; he demonstrates how to achieve dynamic equivalence in this model, which stresses the equivalent response between TL receptors to the translation and the SL receptors to the original.

Incorporating a linguistic approach and the key features of Noam Chomsky's (1957) transformational model which is developed to analyse the linguistic structure of sentences, Nida provides a three-stage system of translation, namely analysis, transfer and restructuring (Nida & Taber, 1969/2003: 33). What takes place in the process of translating is that the ST is broken down into its basic elements of the deep structure, in terms of its grammatical relationships, the meanings of the literary works and combinations of words; these are transferred in the mind of the translator from the source language to the receptor language and then restructured into the surface structure of the TT in order to make the final message fully understandable

or acceptable in the receptor language. Nida and Taber's (1969/2003: 68) own description of the process "emphasises the scientific and practical advantages of this method compared to any attempt to draw up a fully comprehensive list of equivalences between specific pairs of SL and TL systems". It provides the translator with a more efficient technique for decoding the ST and a procedure for encoding the TT.

Nida and Taber (1969/2003) highlight the different sets of meanings and carefully studied the diverse meanings in terms of transfer, restructuring and testing. According to them (1969/2003: 34), the meaning of individual words can be broken down into different ranks: linguistic, referential and emotive or connotative. Nida (1964) argues that the meaning of a word depends on its context. He moves away from the idea of a fixed meaning, instead, advocating a functional definition of meaning—a word 'acquires' meaning through its context and can produce varying responses depending on the receptor's culture (1964: 37). This theory stresses the importance of context in understanding the meaning of a word and suggests that a text might generate varying responses on different receptors. Based on the classification of 'meaning', Nida analyses how the different levels of meaning are transferred from the source language and reconstructed in the receptor language.

After completion of the translation, the next question is how to test whether the translation has achieved the desired effect and what the standards for the assessment are. Accordingly, Nida (1964) proposes two types of translation equivalence. Formal equivalence focuses on the equivalence between the message of ST and TT in both form and content. Dynamic equivalence is concerned with the dynamic relationship between the receptors and the message. It considers that the relationship between the two should be substantially the same as that which existed

between the original receptors and the source message (1964/2012: 159). The translator aiming for formal equivalence attempts to “reproduce as literally and meaningfully as possible the form and content of the original” (Nida, 1964/2012: 144). In contrast, a translation which attempts to produce a dynamic equivalence is based on the principle of equivalent effect. The success of the translation depends on achieving an equivalent effect, producing texts that generate approximate equivalent responses between the receptor of target text and original receptors. The notion of dynamic equivalence stands at the heart of Nida’s translation theory.

Nida and Taber (1969/2003) argue that the way of testing the adequacy of a translation is to compare the response of the receptor to the translated message with the way in which the original receptor presumably reacted to the message when it was given in its original setting. This highlights the relevance of Nida’s theory—however outdated it is in the context of contemporary Translation Studies—to the comparative approach of the present study. As the audience reception is largely influenced by the underlying presuppositions of the respective source and target cultures, a correct translation depends on the question of ‘For whom?’ (Nida & Taber, 1969/2003: vii). The correctness of translation is determined by the average reader for whom a translation is intended and who will be likely to understand it correctly (Nida & Taber, 1969/2003: 1). Thus, the perception of a ‘correct translation’ for different receptors will be different.

Nida’s theory has attracted much discussion and criticism. Critics, such as Roymond van den Broeck (1978), have asked whether dynamic equivalence is achievable through transformation, and if so, whether it can elicit equivalent responses, as Nida assumes. The question of equivalence inevitably involves subjective judgement from the translator or analyst. Moreover, how is the effect to be

measured and on whom it is undetermined (Broeck, 1978: 40). It is difficult to identify the precise receptors and observe the effect on them. In 1992 and 1993, Qian Hu published a series of papers which aimed to demonstrate the “implausibility of equivalent effect”. Hu (1993: 455-456) voices a valid argument that equivalent effect or response is impossible since meaning is bound up in form. Considering the different cultures of the receptors, he believes that it is impossible for a text to have the same effect and elicit the same response.

The criticism that equivalent effect is subjective raises the question on the ‘scientific’ nature of Nida’s translation system. While the techniques for the analysis of meaning, transferring and restructuring in the receptor’s language are carried out systematically, it remains debatable whether a translator actually follows these procedures in practice. On the topic of “the ‘science’ of translation”, Edwin Gentzler (2001) argues that the reduction of a work to basic structural elements (kernels in Nida’s terminology) is invariably distorting. Nida did not explain how the message was to be rendered and what remains of the original formulation. In order to achieve the intended response, Nida suggests that a certain degree of change or adjustment of the words in translation is acceptable. Gentzler (2001: 59) points out that Nida might provide an excellent model for translation that involves a manipulation of a text, while he fails to provide the groundwork for what in general conceives of as a ‘science’.

Despite these criticisms, the contribution of Nida’s theory to Translation Studies cannot be underestimated as it initially introduces a receptor-based orientation to translation. Before Nida, translation focused on approximation to the form and meaning of the source text (Nida & Taber, 1969/2003: 1). Translators paid particular attention to reproducing stylistic characteristics in the target text, e.g.,

rhythms, rhymes, play on words, chiasmus, parallelism, and unusual grammatical structures (Nida & Taber, 1969/2003: 1). Nida's concept of effect, which concerns the impact of translation on receptors, has shifted translation theory away from the stagnant literal vs. free debate.

Nida's systematic linguistic approach to translation has exerted considerable influence on subsequent scholars, especially on scholars in Germany in the field of "translation science" (*Übersetzungswissenschaft*). The most prominent German scholars in translation science were Wilss (1977), Koller (1979) and Leipzig School including Otto Kade (1968) and Albrecht Neubert (1973). In the UK, Peter Newmark (1981) replaces Nida's terms with "semantic" and "communicative" translation. While these concepts raise the same points concerning the translation process and the importance of the TT reader, they have received far less attention than Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence (Munday, 2016: 73).

After Nida, more recent studies that have discussed 'effect' in translation include Koller (1979), Reiss and Vermeer (1984/2013), and Gutt (2000), etc. Gutt (2000: 2) distinguishes direct translation (translation should convey the same meaning as the original) from indirect translation (translation involves looser degrees of faithfulness). His study explores how to achieve "the communicative success of a translation", or the desired effect, in other words. However, the primary concern of Gutt is to formulate a general theory of translation which is able to account for a range of translation phenomena in the relevance-theoretic framework developed by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (1986). While Gutt is aware of the concept of effect, his focus is on the theoretical foundations of translation, i.e. to evaluate the validity of the nature of the principles, rules and methods advocated in translation.

Within the paradigm of pragmatics, Reiss and Vermeer (1984/2013) propose



a functional approach which focuses on the extra-linguistic and textual factors in translation, such as the recipient's culture and the function of the text. They take the purpose of the translation, which they call "*skopos*", as the key factor in translation. According to them (1984/2013), translation's aim is not primarily to produce a close equivalent of the source text, but to produce a new text that realises the *skopos*/achieves the purposes of translation. Within this framework, the translation can be made to be radically different from the source text, depending on its purpose. While these approaches may yield some results when it comes to translation evaluation, this would require a separate discussion beyond the scope of the current research.

Although Nida's theory was primarily developed with respect to Bible translation, the key concepts that he uses and the model of analysis, looking for equivalence in the target language by breaking down the source text into different functional classes (events, objects, abstracts and relations) can be adapted to the present study. Moreover, Nida's (1964) classification and functional definition of meaning, which highlighted the importance of receptors' cultural setting in the effective process, fits entirely within the scope of this present study. Thirdly, although whether an equivalent effect is achievable deserves further discussion, Nida's proposal to take the effect on receptors as a standard for determining the accuracy of translated texts is pertinent to the discussion of this research. However, neither Nida nor subsequent scholars were able to develop a way to examine the effect.

The present research advocates empirical research methods on the study of effect on receptors. It suggests that translators make choices regarding strategies and procedures on the basis of their own evaluation or hypothesis of receptors'

comprehension needs. However, without support from empirical research on the target receptors, it is debatable whether the texts, which are translated applying these strategies and procedures, can achieve the intended purpose of facilitating audience reception. Drawing on the work of Nida for theoretical justification, the present study conducts empirical research on British and Chinese audiences in order to examine their reception of subtitled Chinese films. The intention of this research is not to be prescriptive (to assess whether an equivalent effect is produced), but to be descriptive, i.e. to observe what effect is produced through translation. As Nida has never worked on audiovisual texts, this study employs the notion of effect in the context of audiovisual translation and, thus, adding extra layers of usage and signification to the original notion of effect as used by Nida.

## **2.6 Research on Audience Reception in Audiovisual Translation**

The importance of examining the effect of translated audiovisual texts on audiences through empirical research has been realised by an increasing number of scholars such as Chiaro (2008), Denton and Ciampi (2012), and Suojanen et al. (2015), as introduced in Section 1.2. Nevertheless, until now, the majority of research in the field of AVT Studies is still devoted to contrastive analyses between source and target products emphasising texts, translators and translations or to various aspects of accessibility within Europe. This section reviews a few pioneer studies on audience reception and addresses the need for further investigation on the effect of subtitled Chinese films on audiences.

In an introductory article to the issue of perception and reception in screen transadaptation, Gambier (2003) noticed the scarcity of reception/perception studies

and called for empirical investigation on audience reception. He (2003: 184-187) points out that although viewers are increasingly differentiated in terms of their perceptual capacities, knowledge, values, etc., little research has been done to profile these target groups and subgroups. How we can address the issue of customers' or viewers' preferences and expectations is a field yet to be explored. Gambier also points out that compared with literature reception, the activity of watching translated films or TV programmes remains largely under-researched.

The response to Gambier's call came from a few scholars in Italy, who conducted a series of similar empirical research to examine the reception of Italian audience to dubbed programmes (e.g. Antonini, 2007, 2008; Bucaria & Chiaro, 2007; Denton & Ciampi, 2012), and whose research is reviewed below. Rachele Antonini (2008: 135) states that "Italian TV viewers are exposed to a vast amount of heavily mediated audiovisual texts translated into their native language", which contain a wide array of references to all the specific aspects and features of the source languages and cultures. Based upon a corpus of dubbed TV programmes, Antonini (2008) assessed how TV viewers perceive and understand the culture-specific references contained in dubbed filmic products. Through the meanings of e-questionnaire and Web Technology, her study explores the declared and actual perception of audiences and their understanding of "a specific number of language-specific, culture-specific and lingua-cultural drops" (Antonini, 2008: 136). The results found that despite being sure of having understood them, the respondents missed out on most of the references they viewed as part of the questionnaire.

Chiara Bucaria and Delia Chiaro (2007: 93) argue that new technologies and digital supports allow viewers to be increasingly more in control of the translation mode they prefer when watching foreign audiovisual materials. Thus, it is extremely

important to bring end-user perception and satisfaction into the picture of AVT Studies. They set up an experimental study to explore the end-user perception of dubbed programmes on Italian TV, focusing on two particular aspects of perception: the viewers' comprehension of culture-specific references and their level of tolerance towards "dubbese" (the unnatural sounding Italian expressions which are calques from other languages). A corpus of clips from an American TV series dubbed into Italian was collected and the respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire to measure their understanding and enjoyment after watching the clips. Research found that the average Italian understands poorly the culture-specific references dubbed in the programmes and that there was a varied degree of tolerance to dubbese. A greater exposure to dubbed programmes produces a higher degree of tolerance.

Applying the methodology adopted by the Forlì researchers, Denton and Ciampi (2012) conducted a case study, investigating how Italian audiences perceive the dubbed version of the British film *The History Boys* (2006). Denton and Ciampi (2012: 399) reviews the history of AVT research in Italy and identify target audience perception as "a new development in AVT Studies". They hereby designed an empirical study focusing on the translation of culture-specific references to the English education system in the film, and gathered feedback from viewers through an online survey. The perception of the dubbed version by a sample of end-users was studied to ascertain whether the translation allowed for the transmission of culture-bound issues and whether the target audience were aware that they were missing information. What emerges from data elaboration is that the viewers' understanding of the film and the culture-specific references is only limited to the basic information, which allows them not to run into any basic misinterpretation. They miss a substantial portion of information about the social-political implications of the

cultural entities and a majority of them are not aware of this discrepancy.

With regard to the studies on the effect of subtitled programmes on audiences, Kovačič (1995) *Reception of Subtitling: the Non-existent Ideal Viewer* initially brings the issue of audience reception into the study of subtitling. Kovačič (1995) discussed the reception in literary, in film and television studies and listed four aspects of subtitle reception research, which set the main areas of research on audience reception in AVT Studies. She (1995: 376) suggests that reception studies involves “the social-cultural issue influencing the process of receiving subtitles as part of the TV signal”, “the attitudinal issue of viewers’ preference for subtitling over dubbing or vice versa”, “the perceptual issue of subtitle decoding (reading and viewing) strategies”, and “the psychological or cognitive issue of the impact of cognitive environment on understanding subtitles”. These four areas provide a framework for examining effect on audiences. According to Kovačič (1995), the second and third aspects have been explored in a few studies such as Gery d’Ydewalle (1985) and d’Ydewalle et al. (1991), whereas the first and fourth aspects are still waiting for systematic studies.

Kovačič (1995) also declared the non-existence of the ‘ideal reader/viewer’ (see Section 1.2 for the definition) to interpret a text exactly as it was intended by the author or the filmmaker and the subtitler. Translators’ decisions which are made towards a potential target audience whose profiles are constructed on the basis of the translators’ own stereotypes and prejudices, could be problematic. Kovačič (1995) therefore calls for more empirical studies on reception and reader/viewers. Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (1997: 96) voice a similar concern and call for experimental study on the effect of omissions in subtitles may have on audiences’ impressions of characters’ attitude. Until now, only a few scholars have addressed the issue of

audience reception of subtitled programmes (Luque, 2003; Desilla, 2009, 2012, 2014; Yuan, 2010, 2012).

Subtitles affect the depiction of, and response to, characters and interpersonal relationships in the films from audiences. Subtitles are “a written addition to the original film” (Denton, 2007: 25). The challenges for subtitling could be greater than dubbing as certain manipulations, which are considered necessary for facilitating audience reception and can be applied in the case of dubbing, are much more problematic with subtitling (Denton, 2007: 25). Wissmath et al. (2009) compare the effects of dubbing and subtitling on presence, transportation, flow and enjoyment through an experimental approach. In the study, a total number of 154 participants are investigated in regard to the effect of watching a film segment, which is dubbed without subtitles, dubbed with subtitles in a foreign language or in the original language with subtitles. The film genre includes drama, comedy and thriller. Their research finds that both subtitling and dubbing decrease audiences’ feelings of spatial presence, transportation and flow. No effect of dubbing or subtitling on enjoyment was found. The pattern of results is equal for all genres.

While Wissmath et al. (2009) investigating the effect of both dubbing and subtitling, Kruger et al. (2016) explore the impact of subtitling on the cognitive processing of the audience through subjective psychological measures and Electroencephalography (EEG). Their study compares the impact of watching an episode in English with or without subtitles on the audience. The results of the psychological measurements show that “adding same-language subtitles results in statistically significantly higher levels of immersion and enjoyment, lending support to a view that subtitles facilitate (dis) embodied cognition” (2016: 171). The second experiment presents a methodology for investigating the neural processing of

subtitles. In the experiment, they analyse beta coherence between the prefrontal and posterior regions in order to determine whether subtitles are assisting people to be more immersed in watching a film. Although this experiment has not reached a conclusion at this stage, their study greatly contributes to AVT Studies by offering a scientific methodology for investigating the cognitive processing of AVT products, which will be beneficial in future studies on the process, product and reception of AVT.

Wissmath et al. (2009) and Kruger et al. (2016) investigate the effect of subtitles at the levels of presence, transportation, flow and enjoyment, etc. Whether or to what extent the viewers have understood the translated texts is not of their interest. In this aspect, Luque (2003) examines the reception of cultural transfer in translated audiovisual products, translated audiovisual humour in particular. One of the best well-known Marx Brothers' films, *Duck Soup*, is used as a case study in his research. A fragment that features a high concentration of humorous elements is selected from the sample film and screened to the participants in three versions: original version in English, version dubbed into Spanish, and original version with subtitles in Spanish. In the study, viewers' reactions to the humorous elements in the fragment are observed. A questionnaire and a short interview are conducted later about the fragment they viewed in both dubbing and subtitling modes. This study confirms the hypothesis that literalness in both modes of audiovisual translation affects target text reception, while the dubbed version seems to be more effective in transferring the comic message in the Spanish context as opposed to the subtitled version.

Similarly, Desilla (2009, 2012, 2014) investigates the issue of audience reception of subtitled British films. She applies the empirical research method to a

case study on the comprehension of implicatures by British and Greek viewers in the Bridget Jones films and their subtitled versions. She conducted experimental studies, which explore whether the Greek audience can easily understand the specific aspects of British culture presented in the subtitled films. The methodological inspiration of her studies on this research is introduced separately in Chapter 4. Her study (2014) reveals that source and target audience understand implicatures very differently from the way the filmmakers would intend them to or the analyst had predicted. Her research once again highlights the need of studies on actual audiences in AVT. In addition to all these published papers, the volume *AVT and Reception Studies* (2018) edited by Gambier and Di Giovanni is forthcoming. As a volume that particularly focuses on the issue of reception in the translation of audiovisual materials, it shows a growing awareness of research on this issue in AVT.

All of these studies address the issue of audience reception (or the effect of subtitles on audiences) in audiovisual translation. While they have used varied research methods, e.g. questionnaires, interviews or Web Technology, the similarity between these studies lies in bringing empirical research methods to translation studies in order to explore the effect of translated audiovisual texts on audiences. In a similar way, the present research applies empirical research methods to the study of the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers. The results of these studies are revealing. However, most of these studies, e.g. Antonini (2007, 2008), Bucaria and Chiaro, (2007), Denton and Ciampi (2012), have focused on the reception of dubbed programmes. The small number of studies carried out on subtitling (e.g. Wissmath et al., 2009; Kruger et al., 2016) has focused on the effect of subtitling on individuals' cognitive process. Their notion of effect, which includes the impact of subtitling on presence, transportation, flow, immersion and enjoyment, is different



from that of the present study which primarily focuses on the effect of subtitles on the comprehension of translated texts. While there are studies exploring audience reception of one type of CSRs in subtitled films (e.g. Luque, 2003; Desilla, 2009, 2012, 2014), there is no empirical study which sets out exclusively to ascertain how subtitled Chinese films are understood by audiences cross-culturally. Experimental work on the reception of Chinese to English is extremely scarce.

From the perspective of translation between Chinese and English, the issue of reception maybe even more crucial, considering the remarkable differences between the two in both linguistic and cultural terms (Yuan, 2012: 3). With regard to the audience's perception, British viewers may find it more difficult to understand the cultural references in subtitled Chinese films than, for instance, French films. This may suggest that there is additional work required when subtitling Chinese films into English in order to facilitate viewers' comprehension and more pressure for the translator to domesticate the target text. Therefore, during the process of subtitling, what happens to the representation of Chinese culture in the subtitles because of the constraints of the medium of the translator's own assumptions, and what effect the transfer has on audiences are issues that deserve further investigation. Concrete evidence of the effect has to be drawn from audience response test.

The most revealing study on the effect of subtitled Chinese films on audiences is by Yuan (2010, 2012). Using Chinese language films with English subtitles and English language films subtitled into Chinese as research data, her research investigates the representation of source-film indicators of politeness moves in subtitling and its impact on audience response (Yuan, 2012). The first part of her research investigates the presence in the subtitles of face management indicators in the source film. It concerns how subtitling captures the film characters' development

of their interpersonal relationships. Yuan (2012: 3) “undertakes analysis of face management features depicted in selected Chinese and English film sequences, and then compares them to those represented in the English and Chinese subtitles”. This part of her research also examines “whether those indicators of face management which are employed in the source film have been represented in subtitles” (Yuan, 2012: 3). The second part of her study investigates audience reception and response to the face management features depicted in selected Chinese and English film sequences and those represented in the English and Chinese subtitles. Through comparing “the interpretations of interlocutors’ face management characteristics when they have to rely on subtitles”, with the interpretations of “source language viewers’ perceptions who rely on soundtrack and visual images”, her study examines “whether audiences who rely on subtitles are denied access to certain features of face management that are available to SL film viewers” (Yuan, 2012: 3).

The findings of Yuan’s (2012) research have considerable implications. First of all, her research is original in terms of using empirical research methods to investigate viewers’ interpretations of a certain aspect of subtitling, and in her case, face management. What’s more important, Yuan is one of the few researchers who have investigated the Chinese into English pair in the field of AVT and she is, to the best of my knowledge, the only scholar who has conducted empirical research on the effect of the translation of Chinese films.

Despite the increasing awareness of audience-oriented research on AVT, scholarly work on viewer perception of dubbed or subtitled programmes is still limited. The majority of existing research in AVT Studies takes the form of case studies examining the effect of subtitling or dubbing on particular issues. Such research is valuable in that it draws attention to audience reception, which is a long

neglected area in AVT Studies. However, at present this research remains anecdotal and quite narrow in scope. Much research still needs to be done to clarify the effect of translated audiovisual texts on audiences, especially in the Chinese to English translation pair.

To sum up, this chapter reviewed existing theories on the notion of effect/reception from Communication Studies, Literary Theory, Film Studies and Translation Studies. It suggests that these disciplines, which share common interests in examining effect/reception, can be combined in the investigation of problem at hand, i.e. the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers. The interdisciplinary framework helps this research to see the problem using multiple lenses and provides a broader and deeper understanding of the notion of effect (Hussein, 2009). One of the most important theories on media effect taken from Communication Studies is the ‘selective influence theory’. While acknowledging differences in individual readers’/viewers’ responses to the same media content, this theory suggests that audiences’ responses to media content can be categorised by age, gender, social class, etc. In this sense, while individuals’ interpretations can be very different, this research suggests that the shared cultural and historical past of British viewers means their responses to Chinese films and Chinese culture may share some common characteristics. This links theories on media effects with the concept of ‘horizon of expectations’ in reception theory, which considers the social and cultural contexts that shape the reader’s interpretation of literary texts. The following chapter develops the theme of ‘expectations’ through a historical review of Chinese to English translation, and discusses British viewers’ expectations of Chinese films and Chinese culture in relation to Said’s Orientalism discourse.

Furthermore, Nida’s theory of dynamic equivalence in translation was also

considered in the review. While both media research and reception theory consider the effect of single-language texts on receptors, Nida's theory contextualises the discussion of effect within translation. The last section of this chapter reviewed the latest developments in research on audience reception of translated audiovisual texts, which addresses the needs of further studies in this area, especially in Chinese to English language pair. Being aware of this, the present research examines the effect of Chinese film watching and subtitle reading on viewers through textual analysis and empirical audience response test. The interdisciplinary perspective, which was adopted in this chapter, is further developed in the methodological chapter (Chapter 4). Overall, this research contributes to current AVT Studies by addressing the issue of effect, by looking at it from an interdisciplinary perspective and with a combined methodology. This research hopes to contribute to an improvement in audiences' understanding of China and Chinese culture via Chinese films and English subtitles.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Translating and Representing Chinese Culture in**

#### **Literature and Film**

##### **3.1 Introduction**

Chapter 2 explored the notion of effect and provided an interdisciplinary and critical review of the relevant research on effect. The main argument emerging from that analysis is that the process of subtitling is a negotiation between what is offered in the subtitles and films and what a receiver is inclined to accept. Using Communication Studies, we identified three categories of variables that could influence the effect of a translated text on audiences, which are individual differences, social differentiations and social relationships. In other words, what a viewer has received from watching a subtitled film is a ‘media presented reality’ and he/she interprets it subjectively under the influence of these variables. In this sense, the audiences have actively participated in the process of film watching (or indeed literature reading) and meaning construction. Literary reception theory also suggests that both aesthetic reception and production take place in the process of literature reading on the part of the reader. In line with this theory, the effect of the subtitled films on audiences is mediated by the audiences’ ‘horizon of expectations’, which is formed through their previous experience with translated texts (Jauss, 1982).

Based on the review in Chapter 2, this chapter examines the historical and cultural context of Chinese film translation, within which the effect on British viewers takes place and based on which their expectations are formed. This chapter

is structured into five sections. Following this section, Section 3.2 examines how Chinese culture has been translated in literature and film historically. An overview of the major developments in the history of Chinese to English translation is provided. Based on this overview, Section 3.3 discusses how Orientalism, as defined by Said in his highly influential book *Orientalism* (1978), has been deeply rooted in the tradition of Chinese culture translation and how the concept of Orientalism has reflected British viewers' expectations of the Orient, their characteristics and their culture. Developed through these discussions, Section 3.4 delves into the representation of Chinese culture in the Fifth-Generation cinema and Zhang Yimou's films. It investigates whether and how the cultural representation in these films is an act of self-Orientalisation by Chinese filmmakers and how the tradition of Orientalism has influenced British viewers' reception of subtitled Chinese films. This chapter concludes with Section 3.5. Using the form of diagram, this section presents all the parameters that may have an impact on the reception of subtitled Chinese films by British viewers.

### **3.2 Chinese to English Translation in Literature and Film: A Historical Overview**

Chapter 2 looked at the theories that can be adopted in the investigation of the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers. One of the core concepts is that of 'horizon of expectations'. It was suggested that the shared cultural and historical past of British viewers may indicate that their responses to Chinese films and Chinese culture share some common characteristics. In this chapter, we resume the discussion of British public's expectations and explore the social and historical contexts that helped to shaped it. As it is argued by André Lefevere (1992: 92), the

dominant genre in the target culture, to a great extent, defines the readers' horizon of expectations. In other words, the readers'/viewers' previous experience with translated texts not only shaped the image of how China was perceived by the British historically, but also has an important impact on their expectations of Chinese culture and Chinese film at any point. Thus, it would be appropriate to look at Chinese translation from a historical perspective in order to define the ways in which it is expected to shape the British public's expectations. Following this thought, this section provides a brief overview of the major periods in the history of Chinese to English translation.

In his preface to a special Chinese issue of the journal *Meta*, the translator Jun Xu (1999: 1) initially divides the long history of translation in China into four major periods: translation of the sutras, translation in the Ming and Qing period, translation at the beginning of the twentieth century and translation after 1949 and the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Subsequent scholars who have investigated Chinese translation from a historical perspective, e.g. Kenan Lin (2002), Xia Li (2009), Eva Hung and David Pollard (2009), have shared a similar view.

In addition, Lin (2002) suggests that translation has been "a catalyst" for social change in China. Translation, for her, is seen as a response to the needs and demands of the Chinese society: Buddhist translation satisfied spiritual needs, and "translation of the social sciences and humanities helped ideological evolution and revolution at periods when China was in great social transition" (2002: 172). Lin's (2002) view may partly explain the longer and stronger tradition of translations into Chinese, compared with translation from Chinese into English. Chinese translation activities were intimately related to the promotion of religion (Buddhism and

Christianity) or secular Western scientific thought and literature. Early European translations in the late medieval period included translations of Chinese scientific treatises. However, when progress in the West accelerated after the seventeenth century, China was overtaken by the West in science and technology, which, according to Lin's (2002) theory, contributed to the rise of translations into Chinese in order to meet the needs of learning from the West. In this context, most of the research in Chinese translation has also focused on translations into Chinese.

The overview in this section focuses in particular on translation from Chinese into English, the direction that has received much less attention<sup>2</sup>. The history of Chinese to English translation in the present research is divided into five peak periods, which coincide with major social and political changes in China. The peak periods of translation from Chinese to English overlap with that of translations into Chinese, but are not identical. The early peak period of Buddhist translation was mainly from Sanskrit into Chinese, thus, will be skipped in the present study. A brief summary of translation activities into Chinese will be included only when introducing the background of Chinese to English translation or when the translators were working in both directions. Chinese to English translation, especially the translation during these peak periods, reflects how Chinese culture is represented and perceived amongst European countries. The purpose of this overview is not to present a comprehensive history of Chinese to English translation, rather to ascertain whether there are consistent traditions in the history of Chinese to English translation, and whether they form the basis for a consideration of the reception of Chinese

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<sup>2</sup> In conducting this research, I have tried to look for the first hand resources, e.g. Friedrich Melchior Grimm's *Correspondance, Litteraire, Philosophique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc.* (1829) and James Legge's translation of *The She King; or, The Book of Ancient Poetry* (1876), which were published in the 1800s. However, when the archival works were not available, I have relied on secondary resources and drawn information from existing works of Chinese translation such as those by Lin (2002), Leo Tak-hung Chan (2003) and Li (2009). Their studies, which are based on meticulous archival research, combine cultural breadth and biographical accuracy/details.



translation. Overall, the study in the history of Chinese to English translation aim to reveal: a) how China was historically represented and perceived by the British through translation; b) how this historical representation has (in)formed the British public's expectations of Chinese culture; and c) how this representation and expectations would influence their reception of Chinese film at present.

The first peak period of Chinese to English translation was closely related to missionary activities. Since the sixteenth century, the Portuguese route that led to the coast of India and continued to the ports of China and Japan has brought Europe and East Asia into contact (Martinez-Robles, 2008). Through this route, not just goods, but cultural products and religious ideas, circulated. The Jesuits believed that the most effective way of entering the Chinese world was to convert the Chinese to Christianity (Martinez-Robles, 2008: 9). In order to do this, they had to "reach the natives on their own terms" (Ronan & Oh, 1988: 23). Thus, they learned the Chinese language, adopted the Chinese culture, studied Chinese history, analysed and translated Chinese texts, most importantly, the Confucian classics. For almost two centuries, missionary translation had played an important role in the process of cross-cultural communication.

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), who translated the *Four Books* (*Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Confucian Analects* and *Mencius*), corner stones of Confucianism, into Latin, was one of the prominent translators of this time. Another significant translator, Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), translated the *Five Classics* (*Book of Songs*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Changes*, *Book of Rites* and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*), also part of the Confucian canon, into Latin, which was the language for erudite communication in Britain and Europe at the time (Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources). The translations of the missionaries were of

considerable significance as the first encounter through translation between China and Europe. Despite the primary objective of propagating Christianity, the missionary activities highlighted the cultural and linguistic-conceptual divide between China and Europe as well as the strategies employed by the later to bridge it (Li, 2009: 21).

These missionaries “often portrayed the reality of East Asia in sincerely laudatory terms” (Martinez-Robles, 2008: 9). China was described as “an unknown, distant and mysterious world, yet one that is admired and attractive” (*ibid*). The treatises these missionaries wrote about the Chinese world created an image of Chinese life that was “palatable” to European readers, according to Leo Tak-hung Chan (2003: 24). Confucianism reached Europe as a moral philosophy that predated the values of Christianity. This is particularly evident in the translation of *Haoqiu Zhuan*, the first Chinese novel to be translated into English.

As the first extensive translation of Chinese texts by a native of England, *Hau Kiou Choaan* (*Haoqiu Zhuan* in Pinyin) or *The Pleasing History* was first printed in Chinese around the middle of the seventeenth century (Cheung, 2003: 30). Neither the exact date of the fiction nor its author’s name can be tracked down. The manuscript brought to Europe was a translation of part English and part Portuguese. Thomas Percy edited the manuscript and translated the Portuguese section into English. The entire English version was eventually published in London in 1761 and was acknowledged as the first Chinese novel or long work of fiction to be translated into English (McMorran, 2000: 279).

Percy’s edition of *Haoqiu Zhuan* (1761) enjoyed remarkable success in England. His translation introduced China to the British public through Chinese fiction, especially details of the private life of the Chinese (Cheung, 2003; André,

2003). In *Haoqiu Zhuan*, both the male and female protagonists revealed virtues in Confucian morality, such as physical and intellectual chastity. Confucian values were presented as an important part of Chinese culture and were introduced to the West through translation. As the first extensive translation of Chinese literature into English, Percy's work gave the readers "a holistic grasp of Chinese literature, society, customs and racial characteristics" (André, 2003: 44). The translation of this novel formed the British readers' initial impression of recurrent themes and motifs, the character stereotypes, the narrative techniques and plot patterns that would characterise Chinese literature.

The contemporary Scottish critic Hugh Blair stated that the novel contained an "authentic and interesting account of the internal state of China" (Miller, 1803: 84). In this spirit, Friedrich Melchior Grimm (1723-1807) affirmed that *Haoqiu Zhuan* helped the Europeans to learn "the benevolence of the Chinese government and the beauty of their customs" (Grimm, 1829: 156). *Haoqiu Zhuan* introduced a system of manners that was entirely foreign to Europe. However, Grimm had also claimed that this work was not genuinely Chinese but rather a European literary hoax, because of the superb delineation of the characters. There has been an ongoing discussion regarding the representation of Chinese people and culture in translated literature ever since the first Chinese novel was translated into English. Despite the wide dissemination of *Haoqiu Zhuan*, missionaries in general were more attracted to the translation of Confucian classics, a tradition that has been persistent for centuries (André, 2003).

The Western portrayal of the Chinese world underwent a radical change in the second half of the eighteenth century, which marked the beginning of the second major period of Chinese translation. In Europe, the ideas of rationalism gave way to

the crystallisation “of the enlightened thought of modernity, with its faith in progress” (Martinez-Robles, 2008: 10). The stability that was previously interpreted as a virtue of China’s political system was regarded as a sign of lack of progress and resistance to modernity (Zhang, 1988). Those who had an admiration for China and expressed approval of its language, education or political system were not tolerated by the Christian theologians. Christian Wolff (1679-1754), who praised the Chinese system for successfully harmonising individual happiness with the welfare of the state, was expelled from the University of Halle in 1726 (where Hegel was appointed in 1789). Wolff’s enthusiasm for Chinese philosophy was seen as incompatible with Christianity.

Within this context, Chinese translation during this period was predominantly from English into Chinese, driven by the need to learn from the West, e.g. Yan Fu’s translation of Thomas Henry Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics* (1897). Chinese to English translation was rooted in the age of European imperialism and colonial expansion. Hui Wang (2008: 11-12) argues that, although they do not directly serve political and military intervention, translations during this time provided the knowledge of China, which was associated with colonial occupation, and, thus, can hardly be exempted from the charge of cultural imperialism and intellectual colonialism.

One of the most influential British translators during this time was James Legge (1814-1897), who was known as the first lecturer at Oxford University when Oxford started to offer Chinese classes in 1876. Legge translated all major Confucian classics including both *Four Books* and *Five Classics* into English and became one of the first sinologists. Although Legge made an effort to transform China into an object of academic study in both his translation practice and his

teaching, the primary motivation of his translation of the Chinese classics was to facilitate Christian missions in China. In addition, his translation project was financed by Joseph Jardine, a British merchant who worked in China in the nineteenth century and obtained most of his fortune from the opium trade (Martinez-Robles, 2008: 11). Legge's translations were inevitably influenced by the Eurocentric view that had driven the colonial discussion of the age in which he lived. In his translation practice, Legge did not only 'translate', but also 'evaluate[d] and comment[ed]' on the source text (Legge, 1876: IV). Although Legge subscribed to the principle of 'faithfulness' in general, his translation was often inseparable from his critical apparatus and lengthy introductions, which reflect his own views on the texts (Wang, 2008: 47).

Legge's translations were of significant importance considering the amount of Chinese texts he had worked with. His translations surpassed earlier translations in both scope and comprehensiveness, which showed great progress in Chinese to English translation. As John Chalmers (1886: 1) claimed, Legge's translations brought the Confucian canon systematically into the Anglophone world and marked "an epoch in the history of Sinology" (cited in Wang, 2008: 43). Moreover, according to McMorran (2000: 280), Legge's translations were "extremely sound" and "couched in good, clear Victorian English". They set up a standard for subsequent translations. Many of his translations are still available even today.

Chinese to English translation up to the early decades of the twentieth century was in the hands of the sinologists, missionaries and diplomats who knew China and Chinese culture in person, who were the 'well intentioned' representatives of the imperial powers (Martinez-Robles, 2008; Wang, 2008). They primarily focused on the translation of religious texts and Chinese classics. According to

Martinez-Robles (2008: 11), their interpretation of Chinese history centred on the actions of Western countries in the Chinese world, over which the West was represented as superior in both technology and science, a civilising and pedagogical model. This inevitably influenced their selection of Chinese texts to be translated and how Chinese culture is represented in the target text.

The third peak of Chinese to English translation occurs around the turn of the twentieth century. Unlike the first two peaks during which the translations were mainly conducted by non-Chinese translators, an increasing number of Chinese intellectuals became involved in translating Chinese texts into English. A pioneer translator came to the fore during this period was Gu Hongming (1857-1928), who was born overseas in South-East Asia into a Chinese family. He left for Scotland at the age of ten and studied in Germany, France and many other European countries. He went to China in his mid-twenties and became a staff-member of Zhang Zhidong, a high official in the late Qing dynasty. His strong educational background in Europe and his experience as a staff-member of the government official after he came to China had an important influence on his translation practice. Gu rendered Confucian classics into English and devoted himself to the dissemination of traditional Chinese culture in Europe. He translated three of the *Four Books* into English, notably *The Discourses and Sayings of Confucius* (1898), *The Universal Order or Conduct of Life* (1906) and *Higher Education* (not published). Gu was described as “a trenchant critic of the Westernisation of China and a staunch defender of traditional Confucian values” in the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (Boorman & Howard, 1967: 250).

Unlike translation in the early nineteenth century by missionaries who sometimes did not read Chinese characters but only spoke the language, Gu’s

translation of Chinese classics benefited from his native knowledge of the language and culture and from his outstanding English skills. In order to allow Western readers to better understand the spirit and thoughts in the original text, he even adopted characters and allusions from the *Bible* for a comparison when translating of *The Discourses and Sayings of Confucius* (Huang, 1995). He believed that the Confucian thinking/teaching/scripts, which were written two and a half thousand years ago, could be used to accommodate modern man as well (Muller, 2013). He defended unpopular aspects of Confucian traditions, such as the old system of marriage, the traditional role of women, foot binding and concubinage. With these traditions, he defined “Chineseness”, an imagined essence of China (Muller, 2013). His translations served to form the Europeans’ views on how the Chinese defined themselves and what the Chinese perceived as their culture. Gotelind Muller (2013) states that, what Gu had done was to represent an exotic China that was different from the West in order to attract the most attention. This certainly had an impact on Westerners’ expectations of what Chineseness was. In this regard, Muller (2013: 19) classifies Gu’s representation of traditional cultural values as a way of “self-Orientalisation”, an accusation made against the Fifth-Generation cinema and Zhang Yimou’s films as well, e.g. in Sheng-mei Ma (2008). This notion will be revisited in some detail in Section 3.4.

The founding of the People’s Republic of China corresponded to the fourth peak period of Chinese translation, both into and out of Chinese. For the first three decades following 1949, China was locked into a planned economy. Translation during this period has been considered as a typical case of extreme manipulation (Li, 2009). Political and ideological priorities led to strict government control with regard to the texts that were selected for translation and how they were translated (*ibid*: 35).

The Soviet Union became the chief source of works for translation into Chinese. Translators were driven to a close engagement with Russian literature, songs and stage adaptation of plays commending/disseminating Communism. As for Western literary works, “only those depicting class struggle and racial discrimination” or “those exposing the dark side of capitalist society” were deemed worthy of translation (Lin, 2002: 179). Translations during this period were circumscribed and restricted to those works which were politically correct or ideologically respectable.

On the other hand, the new Chinese government fully recognised the importance of translation. Translation from Chinese into other languages was seen as an important way to export Chinese revolution to the world and to transmit Chinese literature, in particular the chairman Mao Zedong’s writings, to a global audience (Xu, 2014: 77). Mao’s works were regarded as sacred texts by Chinese people at that time. The saying “one word in Mao’s works equals ten thousand in value” vividly reflected the power and value of Mao’s sayings (Lin, 2002: 179). In 1961, Mao’s works made up to 70 per cent of the exported books of Chinese Foreign Language Press, the main government-approved publisher of translated Chinese works, and they intended to increase this proportion annually (Xu, 2014: 84). The most visible and influential translation was Mao’s *Little Red Book* or *Quotations from Chairman Mao* (1964). At the peak of its popularity from 1966 to 1971, *Little Red Book* was printed over a billion times and “rank[ed] second only to the Bible” in terms of circulation worldwide (Leese, 2014: 23). Translations of the *Little Red Book* were issued into three-dozen languages including English and it was seen as “an invaluable contribution to socialist internationalism and to the development of global revolution”, as Lanjun Xu (2014: 76) puts it.

The extreme manipulation of translation during this period was not only



manifest in what was selected for translation but also in how works were translated. Most translations during this period were conducted by a collaborative group of translators under the supervision of the government. Non-English speakers were the primary translators during this time, which was in contrast to the tradition established in previous periods. In addition to proficient translation skills, political correctness became an important criterion for selecting translators (Xu, 2014: 87). Translators were required to strictly follow the linguistic form of the original. In translating *The Selected Works of Mao Zedong* (1961), translators were not even allowed to break Mao's long sentences into short clauses, even if it was required by the grammar of the target language (Lin, 2002: 179).

Even in the translation of Chinese classics, adherence to the source text was favoured over free translations during this period (Chang & Wong, 2000). Yang Xianyi and his British wife Gladys Yang rendered the classical Chinese novel *Hong Lou Meng* (by Cao Xueqin), or *A Dream of the Red Mansions* (1978-1980), into English. Nam Fung Chang and Laurence Wong (2000: 375) studied Yang and his wife's translation of this novel and found that the translators had cleansed the "obscenities" in the translated texts. For example, a large part of the speeches in the novel were delivered in an informal style with taboo words like "fuck", "fucked" and "arseholes". Unlike the original, the racy, striking and vulgar parts of speech were left untranslated in the English version. According to Chang and Wong (2000), Yang and his wife sanitised their translation for their target readers under the patronage of the authorities in Beijing, who worked as "propagandists" to the English-speaking world. As such, their translation is limited in stylistic range, especially with regard to dialogues. The reader of the target text is given only a pale version of Cao's rich and varied language, according to Laurence Wong (2014) in a later publication of his.

Chinese to English translation during this period is accused of being “awkward, over-formal and flowery” (Pellatt & Liu, 2010: 3). Translators were required by cultural affairs officials to “adhere closely to sentence structures and dictionary definitions” (Lin, 2002: 179). However, the translation of the fourth peak period, especially the translation of Mao’s works, provided important information for people outside China to understand life in China and, thus, was of great importance in shaping their readers’ horizon of expectations. In his review *How the West Embraced Chairman Mao’s Little Red Book* (2014: online), John Gray suggests that “the predominant Western perception of Mao’s regime was of a progressive political project—if at times it got a little out of hand, that was no more than the exuberance that goes naturally with such a liberating enterprise”. He (2014: online) continues by stating that, for the Western admirers of Mao, his violent regime “had a compelling charm in its own right”, as the prestige of this regime in the West was at its height “when the leadership was believed to be at its most despotic and murderous”. Although this view on Mao’s regime is disputable, it reflects the power of translation in shaping Western people’s views on the regime at that time. The view described above echoes the positive image of China that the new Chinese government wanted to achieve through translations.

The fifth peak period of Chinese to English translation started in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Following the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), China launched a reform of economic modernisation and opened its doors to the world on commercial, industrial, financial and intellectual levels. The economic reform downscaled the presence of the Chinese Communist Party in all aspects of people’s lives (Eleftheriotis, 2006: 149). The loosening of political control encouraged the growth of communications between China and the outside world.

Canonical masterpieces were translated in a systematic way (Lin, 2002: 169). Few post war films, e.g. *Spring in a Small Town* (1948) and *Two Stage Sisters* (1964), circulated abroad as preemptive signs of a wider movement in the 1970s onwards. During this period, China experienced a boom in the translation of literature, art and the media. This was particularly visible in the development of films intended not only for Chinese audiences but also for international viewers. The rise of the Fifth-Generation cinema was one of the most important manifestations of this development. Chinese cinema, for the first time since the Cultural Revolution, became available to Euro-American film viewers. Not only Chinese literature, but also Chinese film has become one of the main lenses through which China is represented in the West. I will return to this topic in Section 3.4.

The international distribution of Chinese films started from *Zhuangzi Tests His Wife* (1913), the first Chinese film exported to the West and also the first short feature produced in Hong Kong (Zhang, 1998: 66). After that, other silent films such as *Romance of the Western Chamber* (1927) and *Song of China* (1935) were screened in the UK and USA. However, the export of Chinese films to the West did not constitute a significant trend until the 1970s, during which Hong Kong cinema burst on the world scene in an unprecedented manner (Zhang, 1998: 67). King Hu's martial arts film *A Touch of Zen* (1970) was the first Hong Kong film that ever won an award at a non-Asian film festival, i.e. the 1975 Cannes Film Festival (*ibid*). A succession of kungfu masterpieces, e.g. *Fist of Fury* (1972) and *Enter the Dragon* (1973), starring Bruce Lee, enjoyed a considerable popularity in Europe and North America. 'Kungfu', as a cultural imaginary consecrated in Hong Kong cinema, came to be associated with Chinese national identity through martial arts films (Li, 2001: 516). The screen image of Bruce Lee as a kungfu master, to a great extent,

influenced the Western's expectations of the Chinese nation. Kung fu has long been regarded as an important element of Chinese culture (Lu et al., 2014). The scene of Chinese kung fu fighters smashing Japanese karateists and Western kick-boxers has been a stereotypical cliché for years (Li, 2001: 518). After Lee's death in 1973, this image was taken over by another Hong Kong star, Jackie Chan, who also enjoyed worldwide reputation as a kungfu master.

On the other hand, there is a long history of China and the Chinese represented in Western films. China has been traditionally portrayed as a fantasy, a country of "exoticism, stereotypes and fetish" in these films (CinemaChina, online). A typical instance is John Carpenter's *Big Trouble in Little China* (1986), a Hollywood "action-packed fantasy" that was influenced by Hong Kong martial arts films (Li Bidlingmaier, 2007: online). In this film, Chinatown ('little China') is portrayed as an exotic, mystical and foreign space, which is separated from the dominant society. As Selma Siew Li Bidlingmaier (2007: online) argued, the depiction of Chinatown in this film does not merely evoke a sense of exoticism, but also a sense of dread and danger. China seems to represent all that is evil, immoral and destructive, which is opposed to "the exaggerated staging of 'whiteness', of genuine 'Americanness'" (*ibid*). Thus, this place needs to be restrained, civilised and controlled by a white, Anglo-Saxon cowboy (the protagonist Jack Burton), an iconic figure that has shaped American culture and identity since the late nineteenth century. The roles in this film are both racialised and gendered. The female characters in this film are also depicted as exotic, as damsels in distress and as objects of sexual desire, which merely follow the lead of the protagonist. Li Bidlingmaier (2007: online) argues that by contrasting themselves with the representation of China as the 'Other' and as 'exotic', the social and symbolic order of the American society as the

‘normal’ and ‘safe’ is maintained. This echoes Gina Marchetti’s (1991: 278) view made more than a decade ago that “Hollywood has the power to define difference, to reinforce boundaries, to reproduce an ideology which maintains the status quo”. Whereas there are few films that include Chinese Americans who play supporting roles to the protagonists, the Western cinematic representation of China and the Chinese has not changed much over the years. China remains to be seen as an exotic Other in Hollywood films.

While both the above-mentioned Chinese and Western films contribute to the construction of the cultural image of China, the present study has focused on the investigation of the reception of the Fifth-Generation cinema. Thus, only a brief comment on how these films influence the British viewers’ expectations of Chinese films is provided. Before the Fifth-Generation cinema, few Chinese films were intended for an international audience. Chinese films had rarely been shown at international festivals, nor had they won any important awards. Although there were early Chinese technicians trained by filmmakers from United States during the 1920s and Chinese directors went to Soviet to study filmmaking in the 1950s (CinemaChina, online), the films they produced were only acclaimed by Chinese film viewers throughout this time. These justify why the present study select the Fifth-Generation cinema as research objects (cf. Section 1.3.1).

To sum up this section, studies on the tendencies and characteristics of Chinese to English translation, such as those discussed above, reveal the identity that China has constructed through translation. This brief overview shows a clear preference for translating Chinese classics, especially Confucian philosophy, throughout the history of Chinese to English translation. Even in the fourth period, when class struggle was imposed as the primary norm for selecting texts for

translation, canonical works were still continuously translated. Although this situation has altered considerably in recent years as a large amount of contemporary literature, was introduced into the English-speaking world, e.g. the 2012 Nobel Prize writer Mo Yan's novels and short stories, the preference for translating classical Chinese literature into English has no doubt had an impact on mapping the image of China for Europeans. As one of the most important ways for non-Chinese people to understand the life in China, it can be argued that this preference has a profound influence on their expectations of representations of Chinese culture. Seeing China as an exotic Other seems to be one of them, to which I will refer in some detail further down.

Secondly, there has been an ongoing discussion regarding how China was represented in translated literature and film when it was emerged in later centuries. The representation of taking China as an exotic Other seemed to appeal to the Anglophone readership—an argument that Said has made in *Orientalism* (1978). As Wang (2008: 23) asserted, Chinese to English translation has a long history of being seen as a vehicle for introducing a 'minority' culture to the mainstream world. Early missionary translation in China from the late eighteenth century onward was at the forefront of cultural and religious colonisation. The asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism had shaped how China was represented in Europe for almost two centuries. In his account, Chinese to English translation was subjected to an "imperialistic gaze" and "colonialist representations" (Wang, 2008: 32). It had taken part in a wider programme of cultural colonisation that rendered China a repressive and dystopian Other. Moreover, far from being a phenomenon of the past, Orientalism "is very much alive in the present—in a reconfigured relationship between politics, culture and history" (Dirlik, 1996: 99), although not necessarily

where Said located it. The interpretation of the Fifth-Generation cinema has been under the influence of the discourse on Orientalism, which I will discuss in Section 3.4.

In addition, as introduced in Section 1.3.1, the films analysed in this research have all been based on novels. There is a link between literary and cinematic expectations as far as foreign viewers/readers are concerned. These films were widely received by an external audience outside of China and in their representation they Orientalised China and Chinese culture. While in the original novel, on the other hand, which was predominantly intended for a Chinese audience and for internal circulation, this aspect is present to a far lesser extent.

### **3.3 Translating Culture: Considerations on Orientalism**

Tong King Lee (2015) explores the representation of China in English translations of contemporary Chinese literature and finds that the imagination of a foreign culture and the literary image of that culture engendered through translation feed into each other continuously. Through their pre-experience with translated texts, readers form their expectations of a foreign culture and these expectations are constantly being shaped by reading. Arguably, then, British viewers' interpretations of Chinese films and Chinese culture are coloured by their existing stock of experiences with translated texts, one of the essential factors that has shaped their 'horizon of expectations'. For those who have not read any Chinese literature, their expectations when watching these films were not directly informed by these literary translations, but from secondary effects that these translations may have had together with other cultural translations (e.g. painting, sculpture, photography, travelling) of

China in the West. Based on the overview provided in Section 3.2, this section discusses how Orientalism, rooted in the tradition of Chinese to English translation, reflects the British public's expectations of the Orient, its characteristics and its culture, and influences their reception of Chinese films and Chinese culture at present.

Orientalism is a critical term which informs the way that this research conceptualises the expectations of British viewers when they consume culture. Said (1978/2003) interprets this concept as being built on three interdependent facets. It is, historically, an academic discipline, which designates anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient. It is also “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and ‘the Occident’” (Said, 2003: 2). Anyone elaborating theories, social descriptions or political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, mind or destiny, etc. has to accept the distinction between East and West as a starting point. Based on academic and creative interpretations, Said comes to the third meaning of Orientalism, which is defined historically. Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as “the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient”, “by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it” since the late eighteenth century (Said, 2003: 3). It is in this sense that Said (2003: 3) argues that Orientalism represents “a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient”. It denotes a complex of “discursive assumptions and institutional practices that regulate the understanding, appreciation and domination of” the supposed ‘Other’ by Europe (De Vries, 2005: 6881).

Said (2003: 4) argues that, “the Orient is not an inert fact of nature”. Rather, it is a tradition of thought or imagery that has given it reality and presence in and for



the West. It is almost a European invention that imagines the Orient to be “a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences” (2003: 1). The construction of identity of the Orient involves the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of the differences from Europeans. Said (2003: 6) adds that while there is a corresponding reality of the Orient in a sense that there are cultures and nations whose location is in the East, the Orient is orientalist not because it is “discovered to be ‘Oriental’” but because it is “made to be”. The Orient is contained and represented by dominating frameworks. The relationship between Occident and Orient is “a relationship of power, domination and varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (2003: 5). In this sense, Orientalism is a discourse of European power over the Orient rather than a truthful representation about the Orient as it claims to be. It confirms the centrality and normality of the European who defines the ‘Other’.

According to Wang (2008: 37), “the critical edge of Said’s Orientalism lies in its identification of certain unifying features of Orientalist discourse in spite of its historical variations and internal conflicts”. What Said targets is an Orientalist mode of knowledge production, its imperialistic impulse to convert the Orient. The main argument in Said’s *Orientalism* is opposing “reductionism” (Dirlik, 1996: 111). He believes that the portrayal of Asian societies in terms of some cultural trait or other has homogenised differences within individual societies. An Orientalist takes the Orient as a whole with invested collective identities, which are actually quite diverse with large numbers of individuals. Said insists on the importance of avoiding generalisations and stereotypes. He reasons that it is irresponsible and manipulative to reduce conflicts that herd people under falsely unifying rubrics like “The West” or “The East” (Said, 2003: xxii). Regardless of the correctness or erroneousness of the

portrayal of the Orient, Said's observations on Orientalism are particularly helpful to the present study because they provide important insights into possible expectations of a specific Western public, the British viewers.

The whole idea of an exotic being as 'inferior' as Said pointed out is that the portrayal has been undertaken by Western eyes. For Said, Orientalism represents a form of thought that "tells more about the values and biases of Western society than about the Far East" (Mart et al., 2010: 367). However, this idea of a fabricated Orientalism reflects British people's collective expectations of the Orient and Oriental culture, their race, characters, history, traditions, society, etc. Said (2003: 44) presents Orientalism as a historical phenomenon, a way of thinking, a material reality, but also a contemporary problem. Using a self-reflective approach, Said (2003: 1) rethinks the colonial history of the British and states that they have had a long tradition of Orientalism. The Orient is not only one of Britain's earliest colonies and its cultural contestant, but also one of its deepest and most frequently recurring images of the Other. Europe had dominated Asia for so long that the influence of Orientalism was perceptible, at the time of the publication of Said's research, in a large amount of Western texts on the East, and still is at present. Orientalism represents a unifying set of values proven in various ways to be effective at present. These values allow Europeans to deal with and even to see Orientals as a phenomenon with unifying characteristics. They testify to an imagination regarding the Orientals, which they have experienced for many centuries.

Although a concept introduced in the late 1970s, Said's *Orientalism* is still very useful for the present research in that it helps us not lose sight of on power relations in the translation equation. Said (2003: 121) regards translation as an Orientalist technique to restore, flesh out and reassert the values of a classical Orient.

Although he does not focus his analysis on how translation has been used to that end, he suggests that context and tradition are of great importance in determining Western attitudes towards the ‘Oriental’ and that the tradition of translation into European languages can be part of an ‘Orientalist’ attitude. This, interpreted in the context of the present research, justifies the importance of examining the Chinese texts that have historically been translated into English and specifically interrogating translation strategies, in order to understand what is at stake in the tradition of Chinese to English translation.

Translation theories in the 1980s and 1990s have greatly benefited from Said’s work and have been influenced by cultural studies related to his work. Termed ‘the cultural turn’ (Snell-Hornby, 1990), Translation Studies dating from the end of the 1980s go beyond the linguistic approaches and move towards the analysis of translation from a cultural studies angle. At the beginning of this period, Mary Snell-Hornby (1990) presents two main streams in translation theory that have developed in Germany since the Second World War: the linguistically oriented approach and the culturally oriented approach. The linguistically oriented translation approach views translation as mere substitution or transcoding and aims at making the study of translation rigorously ‘scientific’.

Snell-Hornby (1990: 4) exhorts to abandon this exclusively linguistic conception of translation and “to move from text as a putative ‘translation unit’ to culture”. She advocates a culturally oriented approach, which views translation as “an act of communication”; the text is seen as “an integral part of the world and not an isolated species of language” (1990: 82). The source texts and the target texts are not simply seen as samples of linguistic material. Translation is approached “as if from a helicopter: seeing first the cultural context, then the situational context, and

finally the text itself” (Leppihalme, 1997: 3). This approach takes translation as a culturally oriented subject, bridging the gap between different disciplines, such as culture studies, film studies, ethnology and so on. Snell-Hornby’s (1988: 2-3) emphasis on the interdisciplinary approach in Translation Studies shapes the view of how translation is approached in this research.

Following Snell-Hornby, Susan Bassnett and Lefevere (1990: 4) propose to dismiss the “painstaking comparisons between originals and translations”, which do not consider the text in its cultural environment. Instead, they go beyond language and focus on the interaction between translation and culture, that is, how culture influences and constrains translation on “the larger issues of context, history and convention” (1990: 11). In the volume *Translation, History and Culture* (1990), they examine the image of literature that is created by translations and the institutions that are involved in that processes. They suggest that translation cannot be considered “through the mapping of linguistic correspondence between languages or judged with respect to universal standards of quality and accuracy” (1990: 3). Translation is “primarily contextual” (*ibid*). It is a fact of history and a product of the target culture. In this sense, they manage to move from translation as text to translation as culture and politics.

By shifting the focus of translation from language to culture, Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) draw on the important notions of ‘power’ and ‘discourse’ in translation. They argue that “translation is shown to be a powerful mode of cultural construction, a means by which nations can establish their identity amongst foreign countries” (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990: 65). Culture is thus central to identity. Representation of culture in translation is constitutive of otherness, understanding of which can aid translators in “producing empowering translations” in Maria

Tymoczko's terms (2007: 223).

It is within this context that the effect of translation from a 'minority' language or culture to 'the language of power', English, is discussed. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1992) is concerned with the ideological consequences of the translation of 'Third World' literature into English and the distortion this entails. Using translations of Mahasweta Devi's short story *StanadaPyini* (1980) from Bengali into English as an example, Spivak speaks out against the wholesale translation into English. In her view, translation from a minor into a dominant language, such as English, often eliminates the identity of politically less powerful individuals and cultures. The 'politics of translation' gives prominence to English and the other 'hegemonic' languages of the ex-colonisers. Translations into these languages often fail to translate the cultural difference due to the translators' tendency to over-assimilate the texts in order to make them accessible to Western readers. As such, these translations often do not engage with or care sufficiently for "the rhetoricity of the original" (Spivak, 1992: 398). In this sense, Spivak argues that "translation remains dependent upon the language skill of the majority" (1992: 406). Translation of Third World literature into English becomes "a betrayal of the democratic ideal into the law of the strongest" (Spivak, 1992: 400).

Similarly, Tejaswini Niranjana (1992) focuses on the way translation into English has been used by colonial powers to present particular versions of the 'East' that has then stood for the truth. This view echoes the idea of objective reality and media presented reality as introduced in Chapter 2. According to Niranjana (1992), translation has constructed a mediated reality or representation of the 'East', rather than an objective reality. Niranjana especially attacks translation's role within this power structure: "translation as a practice shapes, and takes shape within, the

asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism” (1992: 2). Translation within this asymmetrical power structure “depends on the Western philosophical notions of reality, representation and knowledge” (*ibid*). What is at stake is the representation of the colonised, who needs to be produced in a manner that justifies colonial domination. By employing certain modes of representing the Other, translation “reinforces hegemonic versions of the colonised, helping them acquire the status of what Said calls representations” (1992: 3). In the introduction of a collection of essays, *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (1999: 13) see these asymmetrical power relationships being played out in the unequal struggle of various local languages against “the one master-language of our postcolonial world, English”. Translation is, thus, seen as the battleground and exemplification of postcolonialism.

Bassnett and Trivedi (1999: 5) talk about the “shameful history of translation”. They claim that translation, for centuries, has been a one-way process, rather than a reciprocal process of exchange, adding that texts have been translated into European languages for European consumption. As European norms have dominated literary production, only certain kinds of text which are not alien to the receiving culture come to be translated. Bassnett and Trivedi (1999: 2) see translation practice as “a highly manipulative activity” and this manipulation occurs at every stage in the process of intercultural transfer. They maintain that translation is not “innocent” or “transparent”, but “highly charged with significance”; it rarely “involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems” (1999: 2).

The history of Chinese to English translation seems to resonate with this view. The overview of Chinese to English translation in the present study may justify the hypothesis that Bassnett and Trivedi’s claims also apply to the Chinese context.

While the translators made an effort to remain faithful, their sinologist background and the motivation for the translation, which was to provide knowledge of China during colonial occupations, cannot be exempted from the discourse on European cultural imperialism. Their translations prepared the way for political and economic expansion and shaped the Europeans' expectations of an oriental China.

Niranjana (1992) also discusses the selective translation of legal, literary and religious texts, all at the service of ideological struggle in her above-mentioned work. She cites powerful examples from the Asian postcolonial context and shows how translation was "a significant technology of colonial domination" (1992: 21). The use of translation to codify Hindu law is revealed as an instance of colonialism's attempt to erase heterogeneity. According to Niranjana (1992), translation in this case was used "to create a subject position for the colonised" (19) which would "discipline and regulate the lives of" (18) Hindu subjects. In a similar vein, Lefevere (1999: 76) argues that when translating texts between Western and non-Western cultures, "problems in translating are caused at least as much by discrepancies in conceptual and textual grids as by discrepancies in languages". These two grids determine how reality is constructed for the reader. Both the writer and the translator are constrained by these two grids. In his article *Composing the Other* (1999), Lefevere gives an example of how three texts compose the same reality about non-Western cultures differently in terms of the two grids, and how Western cultures 'translate' non-Western cultures into Western categories so that the latter can be understood. Furthermore, he stresses the importance of the reader in the process of reception by stating that "texts are supposed to contain certain markers that designed to elicit certain reactions on the readers' part, and that the success of communication depends on both the writer and the reader" (1999: 76).

It is within this context that postcolonial translations can be associated with the concept of Orientalism. Orientalist discourse, or “the West and the Rest discourse”, according to Hall (1996), characterises and classifies societies into different categories, i.e. ‘Western’ and ‘non-Western’. It condenses a number of different characteristics into one picture and functions as “a system of representation” (Hall, 1996). The West is represented to be “unified and homogeneous, with one view about other cultures and one way of speaking about them” (1996: 188). Western cultures are united in the sense that ‘they are all different from the Rest’. On the other hand, non-European cultures are treated as inferior and ‘different from the West’. They are defined as everything that the West is not. The differences between different nations and cultures among themselves are neglected. Hall (1996: 216) argues that within this discourse, the world is divided, symbolically, into parent-child, modernity-primitiveness, us-them, civilization-nature, maturity-immaturity, the West-the Rest. This simplifying ‘binary oppositions’ are fundamental to all colonial representations. He goes on to say that “the differences between and within these two halves are collapsed, simplified, i.e. stereotyped” (*ibid*). Sander Gilman (1985: 27) states that the deep structure of this stereotype “reflects the social and political ideologies of the time”. He argues that:

With the split of both the self and the world into “good” and “bad” objects, the “bad” self is distanced and identified with the mental representation of the “bad” object. This act of projection saves the self from any confrontation with the contradictions present in the necessary integration of “bad” and “good” aspects of the self. The deep structure of our own sense of self and the world is built upon the illusionary image of the world divided into two



camps, “us” and “them”. “They” are either “good” or “bad”.

(Gilman, 1985: 17)

Quoting from Gilman (1985), Hall (1996: 189) asserts that the discourse of Orientalism, as a system of representation, constructs an over-simplified conception of ‘differences’ and he continues to warn us that this discourse has shaped public perceptions and attitudes down to the present.

In conclusion, a culture-oriented approach shapes the overview of the present study. Within the context of postcolonialism, translations raise questions of representation, power and historicity. The essential argument is that translation has played an active role in the colonisation process and in the dissemination of an ideologically motivated image of colonised peoples. Following this thought, the present study, which prioritises the perspective of audiences, suggests that this ‘ideologically motivated image’ has (in)formed peoples’ horizons of expectations that have to be taken into account when investigating the reception of translated texts.

### **3.4 The Translation of Chinese Culture in the Fifth-Generation Cinema, with particular reference to Zhang Yimou’s Films**

Section 3.2 highlighted the major trends in the history of Chinese to English translation and placed the emergence of the Fifth-Generation cinema in a historical context. Section 3.3 discussed the relationship between the translation of Chinese culture and Orientalism. Based on these explorations, the present section examines the effect that the cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema, especially in Zhang Yimou’s films, may have on audience reception through subtitles. More

specifically, it shows how the discourse of Orientalism has influenced cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema; and it suggests how this discourse has worked interactively with British viewers' horizon of expectations and influenced their reception of subtitled Chinese films.

In Section 3.2, we referred to the fifth period and the boom of translation from Chinese into English. This was a prosperous period not only in translation, but also in various artistic and literary areas (Lin, 2002). In addition to the boom of translations in various genres, a significant feature of the fifth major period of Chinese translation was the emergence of the Fifth-Generation cinema. After China implemented the Open-door policy in 1978 (the economic policy aiming to open up China to foreign business and put the country on the path of economic transformation), the country experienced radical social changes under the influence of Western capitalistic ideologies. On the one hand, rapid industrialisation and modernisation led to unprecedented economic growth and prosperity. On the other hand, social reforms had brought Confucius back into official favour. The Fifth-Generation directors started to shoot films during this era. Their films rejected socialist pedagogy and financial dependence on the state. These works revealed the new generation directors' reflection on Chinese society and traditional Chinese culture. The emergence of the Fifth-Generation cinema was at the forefront of a successful quest for cinematic modernisation (Vukovich, 2012: 106).

The emergence of the Fifth-Generation cinema raised concerns about the image of China that these films have produced. The Fifth-Generation cinema showed Chinese people's lives to the outside world, at a time when China was still largely a mystery, through a new translated medium, which was different from the traditional medium of literary texts. In this sense, these films can be interpreted as a way of

‘translating’ China. The translation of these films played an important role for these films’ international dissemination. As presented in Chapter 1, unlike the translation of literary texts, the translation of Chinese film has been relatively neglected by both scholars in Chinese film studies, such as Clark (1987), Chow (1995), Berry and Farquhar (2006), and scholars in AVT (Orero, 2004; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007).

When considering the theme of cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema, discourses on Orientalism and exoticism have to be taken into account. For certain scholars (e.g. Simon, 1996; Robinson, 1997; Tymoczko, 2007; von Flotow, 2011), including some who have considered translation in relation to postcolonial issues, exoticism is an instrument used to misrepresent others who are considered as subalterns. It keeps non-Western knowledge at the margins of intellectual discourse, and at an ornamental, superficial level of representation. Ovidi Carbonell (2000: 51) defines exoticism as a process by which “specific elements are isolated and made central in the conceptualisation of the text, object, people, or acts referred”. In this process, specific elements of displacement or strangeness stand as a representation for the whole. The notion of exoticism suggests “a peculiarly alluring flavour”, a strange beauty or enticing difference (Longley, 2000: 23). This, reflected in aesthetic judgement, is the assumption that Chinese writers/artists are supposed to produce cultural difference and specificity in their work (Alphen, 2014). Ernst van Alphen (2014: 3) argues that the problem with this assumption is that people are assigned to their cultural, ethnic, geographic or sexual identity, and works of art and literary texts are explained and judged by these identities.

In fact, exoticism does not always have a bad name. In *Essay on Exoticism* (2002), an important work on literary and artistic criticism, Victor Segalen develops the concept of exoticism as a “manifestation of diversity” (2002: 66). He defines

“diverse” as everything that is “foreign, strange, and mysterious” and everything that is Other (67). His concept of exoticism merges diversity with beauty: everything that is other or different is beautiful. Segalen attempted to use exoticism as a way of understanding different cultures outside colonialism and sought a response to diversity that would “recognise difference without attempting to overcome or mimic it” (Yee, 2016: 151). However, as Jennifer Yee (2016: 152) has suggested, “in a period when French colonial ideology was taking on new cultural centrality”, Segalen’s attempt was “more aspirational than descriptive”. Exoticism is associated with imperialist attitudes, which involve “a set of presuppositions about non-European cultures in relation to Europe that prepared the way for political and economic expansion” (*ibid*). As Alphen (2014: 14) suggested, the diversity which Segalen has defined is a “symbolist exoticism” due to his dismissal of colonial bureaucrats, while “realistic exoticism” does the exact opposite. It is the latter which gives exoticism a bad name.

According to Alphen (2014: 10-12), exoticism is triggered by the act of a conscious being who recognises the difference and develops knowledge of being as ‘other than himself’. The experience of exoticism crushes diversity and destroys the personality of the others. Diversity exists only because it provides the colonial with the means of duping others. As for the colonial bureaucrat, caught in a centralised administration whose rules he must enforce and which quietens disharmonies deaf, is for the good of everyone. In this respect, exoticism “carries pejorative connotations of Eurocentric, simplistic attitudes to non-Western cultures” and it is closely related to political imperialism (Yee, 2016: 151). As Alphen (2014) suggested, exoticism provides the discourse that is needed in the critical judgement of cultural translation. It is imperative for understanding how Western intellectuals characterise Chineseness,

but also China's responses to Western dominance. Together with Orientalism, the present study embraces a critical point of view with regard to both discourses, based on which the critical engagement with the Fifth-Generational directors' works is exercised. While Orientalism is geographically tied to colonial concepts of Asian and the Oriental, exoticism historically signals "a politically and sexually charged form of 'othering'" (Longley, 2000: 23). As the political and sexual charges are important aspects that determine the cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema and Zhang Yimou's films, the present study highlights the link between exoticism and Orientalism as expressed by Chinese artists.

Current popular notions of the exotic are "fascination and desire: the desire to enter forbidden territory, whether in the imagination or physically, to partake of otherness and to stake a claim" (Longley, 2000: 23). Because the exotic is always an attribute given to someone else or somewhere else, exoticism, like Orientalism, "is a way of seeing which sustains the myth of the cultural centrality, and therefore the superiority, of the viewer", according to Kateryna Olijnyk Longley (2000: 23). In this sense, the construction of the exotic reinforces a sense of identity for the individual or the community that is doing the viewing. The ways in which Orientalism and exoticism have influenced British viewers' expectations and have impacted on the cultural representation in Chinese films come to light in the Fifth-Generation cinema and in Zhang Yimou's films. Although it would be unfair to reduce Zhang's films to these concepts in the way that the West reduces China to something oriental and exotic, Orientalism and exoticism provide a theoretical discourse within which Zhang's films are analysed in this research.

The European vision represented by Orientalism is that all Eastern people are "exotic, remote, inferior" and are "subjected to the political, military, economic,

cultural and sexual dominance of the West” (Broinowski, 1996: 50). Hent de Vries (2005: 6881) voices a similar argument, stating that Orientalism “evokes the tendency to mystify, caricature, homogenise and petrify Asian cultural systems” via idealisation or demonisation. In particular, Louise Edwards (2013: 276-277) suggests that the global common-sense view, perpetuated by the Chinese as well as non-Chinese, is that “Chinese people are used to authoritarianism since it has long been part of ‘their’ culture”. Subordination and acquiescence to oppression are retained as identifiable traits of Oriental culture. Similarly, after the investigation of how China is represented in English translations of contemporary Chinese literature, Lee (2015: 252) suggests that the image of China or Chineseness, constructed through English translations, seems to be “a monolithic political state that is inexorably tyrannical” (official corruption, leadership hypocrisy and the insanity of the Cultural Revolution).

Cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema seems to favour this cross-cultural imagining, by accommodating the expectations of Western audiences. These films, stepping away from ideologies and political spheres, deal with the representation of what this new generation of filmmakers defines as Chinese culture—the rigid social hierarchy, the traditional customs, the Confucian values and so on. They have “divorced from the ideological practices of the state” and transformed the political codes “into motifs, signs of cultural identity or superimposed sociohistorical backgrounds” (Chen, 1997: 123). Political codes in these films only constitute “a peculiar narratological ambience in which Chinese film is produced, circulated, watched, and interpreted” (Chen, 1997: 123). Culture becomes the central motif of the Fifth-Generation films. The emphasis on the mundane and cruder modes of living in China brings the audiences far away “from Western civilization and into a distant geographical-cultural space” (Lee, 2015: 262).

China is represented as a community radically different from the West that the West would define as the 'Other'. The act of resorting to the artistic experiment and marginalising ideology in these films, on the one hand, is a way to escape being manipulated by the orthodox political discourse. On the other hand, it asserts the Western imaginary about China. The representation of China in these films asserts the difference between the West and China as the Other.

Arif Dirlik (1996: 112) points out that Said's *Orientalism* "ignores the Oriental's participation in the unfolding of the discourse on the Orient". It seems that the Orient's involvement in this process is irrelevant. Said's *Orientalism* is a study in European thought. What Said has described as Orientalism is a "one-sided and self-reifying process" (Ong, 1999: 130). As Dirlik (1996: 111) has argued, the historical consequence of Eurocentrism has been to "erase the part that non-Europe has played in European development in the course of centuries of interaction, and on the contrary, to distance other histories from the European". Eurocentrism coincides with the European colonisation and domination of the world. From an Orientalist point of view, the world outside Europe is represented as "empty" and "backward" and thus serves the cause of European intervention. Said's *Orientalism* "has little to say on the question of how intellectuals and others in Asian societies may have contributed to the emergence of Orientalism as practice and concept" (Dirlik, 1996: 101). In fact, one of Said's goals is to demonstrate "how such representations of the Orient have silenced the Orientals and undercut their ability to represent themselves" (Dirlik, 1996: 99). Orientalists do not just speak about the Orient, they also speak for them. How Oriental intellectuals respond to Orientalism is not considered by Said. In this sense, studies on the Fifth-Generation cinema and Zhang Yimou's films may be seen as a response from Chinese artists to Orientalism and they shed a new light on Said's

discourse of Orientalism.

The Fifth-Generation cinema (which has been introduced in Section 1.3.1) performs the function of reflecting a desired version of what British viewers define as Chinese culture and it also represents an attempt by Chinese artists to meet these expectations. In this sense, the Fifth-Generation cinema can be seen as a practice of “self-Orientalisation”, a notion proposed by Roy Andrew Miller (1982) to describe how the side that has been seen as oriental or exotic responds to the viewer who orientalised it and projected ‘otherness’ onto itself. Self-Orientalisation is a form of translation of the self to conform to Western expectations. It both challenges the West’s imperialistic knowledge production concerning the Oriental in a way that the Orient is speaking for themselves, and enhances the image that has been constructed by the West historically. The normalisation of Eastern exoticism ensured that the Orient is aware of its own position as the ‘exotic’. The reaction from the Orient has been several active engagements within this discourse. Myths of oriental barbarism played back to British viewers reinforce prior cultural preconceptions, within which translation in these films performs a major role.

The cultural imaginary of the Orient, which inculcates “an invisible, but omnipresent nexus of absolute power and totalitarianism”, overshadows Zhang Yimou’s films (Chen, 1997: 130). In the film *Red Sorghum* (1987), instead of “offering a conventional eulogy of the Communist leadership”, Zhang resorts to “a naturalistic expression of the nation’s vital power by means of a love-and-death story” to lay bare the myth of the Anti-Japanese War (Chen, 1997: 129). The war merely serves as “a disguised political code” to bring about the “dramatic climax of the romance between the narrator’s grandfather and grandmother”, namely, their heroic ambush of the Japanese invader (*ibid*). According to Xiaoming Chen (1997:



129), the searching of cultural identity in this film is embodied in the grandfather's way of living—the individual can refuse to accept any preordained concept or grand ideology. The expression of primitive passion, the joy of lovemaking and the slaughter in the sorghum fields, evoke an exotic cultural realm and meet audiences' expectations of Chinese culture. What was important here is not what to tell but how to tell.

Zhang Yimou's films accommodate international audiences' expectations not only socially, through their aim of representing culture and downplaying politics, but also aesthetically, through their experimental ways of representing culture. In his films, much importance has been placed on the aesthetics—the beauty of form and style, such as the stunning visual display and the exhibition of traditional Chinese rituals. For instance, the film *Red Sorghum* splashes rich colours all over the screen. The visual impact of the film is voluptuous. In the film *Ju Dou*, an air of fate is imparted to the employment of the rich colour display (Cardullo, 2015: 171). The colour of red in *Ju Dou* “functions as a metaphor not only for the unleashing of erotic passion, but also for the inevitable loosing of violent impulses with it” (Cardullo, 2015: 171). This can be seen in the accidental unravelling of a long bolt of red cloth when the lead character Judou and her lover have sex for the first time, and when her lover's drowning in a red-dye vat. In the empirical study that forms part of this research, audiences' reception of the colour red in this film is tested.

The film *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992) is praised for “its cold beauty, perverse cruelty, violent sexuality, and hypnotic decadence” (Edwards, 2013: 275). It is seen as a Chinese film of “voluptuous physical beauty and angry passions” by Ebert (1992: online). According to him, the film allows a richness of red, which brings the sensuous pleasure of the colour contrasts, beneath which is the cruel

reality of the life. In the film, it is not just the colour of the lanterns, but also a type of ceremony/rite which is associated with the hanging of the lanterns. Berry and Farquhar (2006: 128-130) argue that the repetitive practice of lighting the lanterns and taking them down represents Chinese people's lives throughout the Cultural Revolution period, which were completely dictated by strict rites and ceremonies to be performed. The priority given to aesthetics reveals a certain marginalisation of representation of China as subaltern to Western dominance. As Said (1978) and others (e.g. Niranjana, 1992) have shown, cultural production tends to be divided between aesthetic (cultural products) and scholarly (e.g. history, philosophy, science, sociology). A primarily aesthetic focus allows Chinese filmmakers to distance themselves from the preceding ideological period and to please the West by perpetuating a representation of China as intellectually marginalised.

The aesthetic pursuit in these films, mainly through the massive display of stunning visual images and the exhibition of traditional rituals, influences how these films are perceived by both Chinese and Western audiences. Berry and Farquhar (2006), for instance, suggest that these films redefine the politics of the Chinese self and identity by focusing on sexual power, reproductive continuity and on the spectacle of the female body. The alleged Orientalism of Chinese translation and the Fifth-Generation films is linked to their contentious reception within China and abroad. Zhang (2002: 222) suggests that "oriental exotica as a mystified entity is fixed at the very centre of Western attention" with these films, and is in fact "deliberately cultivated" by them. Wang Yuejin (1989a: 36) even claims that Fifth-Generation films construct a "cultural identity that the current Chinese public are reluctant to identify with" and do not share. Critics (e.g. Xiao, 2002) voiced concerns that these kinds of films become increasingly irrelevant to mass Chinese audiences.

It is also of concern to Chinese critics that these films have been taken to be a representation of Chinese culture abroad and therefore a reflection of Chinese history. Wendy Larson (1997: 334) suggests that the Fifth-Generation cinema has been taken by reviewers and audiences as historical epics and as exhibiting Chinese history and China. Daniel Vukovich (2012: 105) voices similar criticism, stating that the Fifth-Generation films are seen as “deeply, mimetically historical, signifying the Real China and its past, from the era of *concubinage* to the Cultural Revolution”. The English reader, unfamiliar with Chinese society, may take this at face value, in which case a misperception would arise. In this sense, these films, rather than being a bridge of communication between British and Chinese cultures, are creating a rift between audiences.

In conclusion, the present section establishes the impact of Orientalist discourse on British viewers’ expectations. Said’s observation in *Orientalism* reflects the existence of collective expectations of the Oriental culture. For the Orient, the cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema has accommodated these expectations and has been seen as self-participation in Orientalisation by Chinese artists. For the Occident who views the Orient, Orientalism comes into British viewers’ horizon of expectations and influences their comprehension of these films and of Chinese culture as represented in them. In this sense, Orientalism and the culturalist epistemology that nourished it becomes ‘alive’ in the present (Dirlik, 1996). This expectation, not only comes into the cultural representation in the films, but may also induce manipulative practices in the translation to make the text fit into an expected genre. Thus, when it comes to the translation in the subtitles, important questions to be considered are whether the subtitles can mediate the spirit of the cultural representation conceived and realised by the filmmaker and how the

subtitles have carried on (or not) fitting audiences' expectations. These questions will be examined in the case study of the subtitles in Zhang Yimou's films in Chapter 5. Before going to the detailed textual analysis, the last section of this chapter presents the parameters that influence the effect of subtitled Chinese films on audiences.

### **3.5 The Reception of Subtitled Chinese Films by British Viewers**

As was presented in Chapter 2, much research (e.g. Pedersen, 2007; Guillot, 2010; Lee, Roskos & Ewoldsen, 2013) on translation has been focused on quality assessment of the translation product as if the translated texts were to be received or accepted by the reader/audience directly. After a critical review of studies on media in Communication Studies and reception theory in Literary Theory and Film Studies, Chapter 2 concluded that the effect of subtitled films on viewers can be equated to a negotiation of what is offered and what audiences are inclined to accept given their individual differences, social differentiations and social relationships; and the effect of subtitled films on foreign viewers comes from both the film itself and the subtitles. Figure 2.6 in Chapter 2 presented the effective process of subtitled films on audiences, without addressing the particular case of Chinese films and Chinese film reception.

Based on the review in Chapter 2, Section 3.2 of this chapter introduced the Chinese texts that have been selected for translation historically and the way of translation. Section 3.3 argued that these translated texts have formed the British public's expectations of translated Chinese texts and Chinese culture, and what Said has defined as Orientalism has become deeply rooted in their expectations. As argued in Section 3.4, these expectations not only have an impact on how culture is

presented in the Fifth-Generation cinema, they have also infiltrated the British viewers' film watching process and influence their understanding of the films. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Fifth-Generation cinema is the first group of canonical films that open up to an international audience. Thus, it is fair to argue that the Fifth-Generation cinema has a significant impact on forming British viewers' 'horizon of expectations' of Chinese films and Chinese culture.

Based on the model of reception of subtitled films established in Chapter 2 [Figure 2.6] and taking into account the particular case of Chinese films, the reception process of subtitled Chinese films by British viewers can be illustrated as follows:

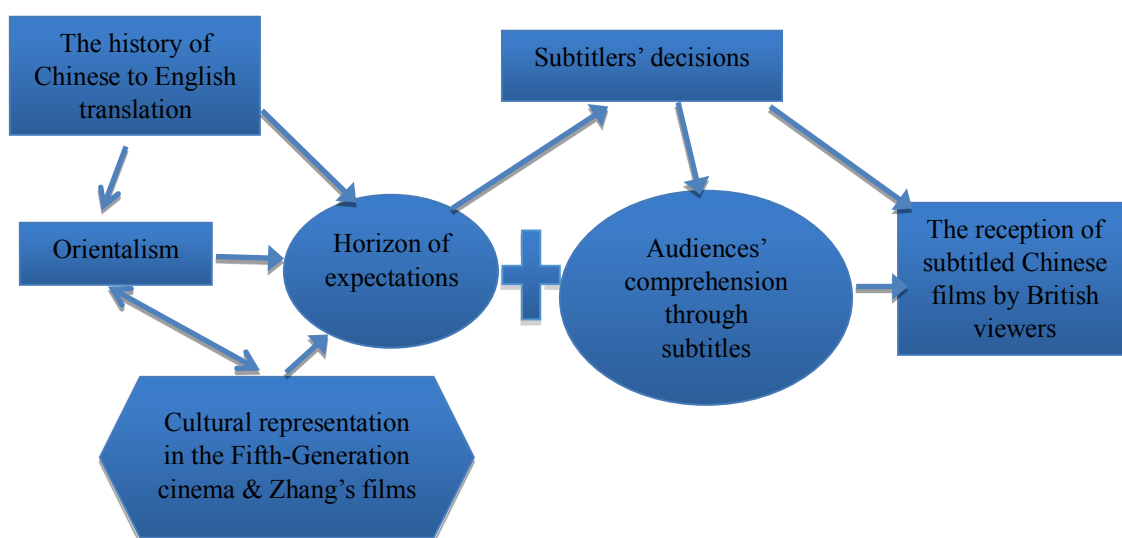


Figure 3.1 The Reception of Subtitled Chinese films by British viewers

As illustrated in Figure 3.1, the Chinese texts that have historically been translated into English come to influence British viewers' horizon of expectations. Translations, films and other cultural and literary representations all create a common horizon of expectations, and at the same time they all try to meet those

expectations. The history of Chinese to English translation seems to be deeply affected by what Said defines as Orientalism. This discourse does not only inform British viewers' expectations of Chinese films and Chinese culture directly, but also influences the cultural representation in Chinese films. The cultural representation in these films, in turn, shows an intention to meet these audiences' expectations and hence reinforces their predispositions. In this sense, the Chinese artists of the Fifth-Generation have participated in the process of self-Orientalisation. Thus, a bidirectional arrow has been placed between Orientalism and culture representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema and Zhang Yimou's films.

The impact of audiences' horizon of expectations on the effect of subtitled Chinese films is demonstrated in two ways. On the one hand, translators have to take into account 'the implied reader' (see Section 2.3 for the definition) and their 'horizon of expectations' when applying certain approaches or translation strategies. The translators' decisions, such as whether to explain technical terms or not, what register to use, and what kinds of cultural references to include, are all indicative of the text's implied reader and their expectations. The implied reader represents the text's entire readership, "a collection of characteristics" or "general tendencies within the readership" (Suojanen et al., 2015: 63). Their horizon of expectations tells the translators what the text expects of its readers in terms of presuppositions and pre-existing knowledge. The translators' decisions, which were made considering the implied reader and their expectations, influence how the film is eventually understood by British viewers.

On the other hand, from the perspective of the viewers, the British viewers' horizon of expectations influences their understanding and interpretation of the translated texts. Audiences may fail to recognise the intended readings that

filmmakers and subtitlers attempt to anchor if the expectation is not met. As such, the effect of a translated text on a target reader/audience is determined not only by the quality of the translation itself, but also by the interaction between the translated text and their horizon of expectations based on their life experiences, age, sociocultural background, gender and so on (Stafford, 2007). It is in this sense that Desilla (2014: 198) declares, “watching film is both a shared and a personal experience”. The effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers is therefore a combination of audiences’ comprehension in negotiation with their expectations.

To conclude, this chapter analysed the historical and cultural contexts that influence British viewers’ horizon of expectations and speculated as to what their expectations of Chinese films and Chinese culture are. It illustrated how the Fifth-Generation cinema has been seen as an attempt by the Chinese filmmakers to accommodate these expectations. Based on this, this chapter presents the process of how Chinese films are received by British viewers through subtitles. Explorations of the historical and cultural contexts of Chinese to English translation indicated the influence of the pre-experience of translated texts and the discourse of Orientalism in forming British viewers’ horizon of expectations. The model composed in this chapter provides a tool for examining the overall effect of subtitled Chinese films on audiences. Based on the model provided, Chapter 4 presents the methodological concerns of this research, while Chapter 5 discusses issues in translating culture in subtitles with a case study of the subtitles in Zhang Yimou’s films.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Methodology**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

As it was suggested at the beginning of Chapter 2, the key notion of effect in the present study embodies two research orientations: research on the person or content who/which exerts the effect and research on the person or subject who/which receives the effect. In the present research which investigates the effect of subtitled Chinese films, the former leads to an analysis of the subtitled audiovisual texts as a means of uncovering the recurrent patterns and tendencies in translation; and the latter leads to an audience response test which exemplifies how the films are interpreted by viewers. The methodology of the present research is therefore two-fold. It encompasses contrastive textual analysis of the original Chinese dialogues and their English subtitles on the one hand; and empirical research aiming to understand how British and Chinese viewers receive these films on the other.

Through this investigation, the present research endeavours to answer the research questions that were raised in Section 1.4 and are relisted as follows: (a) How is Chinese culture represented in Chinese films, especially in the Fifth-Generation cinema, and how is this culture mediated through English subtitles? (b) How relevant is the concept of Orientalism in relation to expectations of ‘Chineseness’? How is this Orientalist thought characterised in the representation of Chinese culture in Chinese films and, more specifically, in the English subtitles of these films? (c) How do British and Chinese viewers understand CSRs as represented in Chinese films? What effect do English subtitles have on British



viewers' understanding of the CSRs in subtitled Chinese films and by extension of the films themselves?

Driven by these questions, this chapter presents the methodology of this study, spanning from the broad research design to the detailed methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Accordingly, this chapter is structured into five sections. Following this introductory section, Section 4.2 discusses what can be considered as a methodological gap in the study of the effect in the field of Translation Studies. It then introduces the overall research design of this study and the rationale underlying the design. Based on this, the subsequent two sections, 4.3 and 4.4, introduce the two data elicitation methods that were used in the present study. Section 4.3 outlines the steps taken and the procedures underlying the contrastive textual analysis. The textual analysis, which is principally presented in Chapter 5, aims to answer the first research question. Section 4.4 elaborates on the methodological and practical considerations of the questionnaire, which include its design, considerations on the selection of participants and the procedures of data collection. Data elicited in the questionnaire reflect audience reception of the films under investigation and the effect of subtitles in this process, and thus, answer the third research question. While neither research method is directly addressed to the second research question, analytical findings in Chapter 5 and data collected through the questionnaire on viewers' comprehension of the selected films reflect how the discourse of Orientalism has characterised cultural representation in Chinese films and has shaped British viewers' expectations of 'Chineseness'. This chapter concludes with Section 4.5, which offers an insight into the treatment and interpretation of data collected through the questionnaire.

#### **4.2 Research Design: Qualitative Research with Quantitative Elements**

The present study primarily uses qualitative research method while encompassing quantitative elements, i.e. a questionnaire. The broad approach of this research was informed, first of all, by the philosophical worldview that the researcher has brought to this study. Bob Matthews and Liz Ross (2010) distinguish three worldviews in social research: positivism, interpretivism and realism. The positivists hold a view that social phenomena can be researched through observation and measurement of the objective reality. A quantitative research approach is generally associated with the positivist worldview. On the contrary, researchers with an interpretivist worldview tend to explore a social phenomenon relying on the participants' subjective interpretations, which is often linked with qualitative approaches. A realist epistemological viewpoint admits that certain social phenomena can be objectively investigated as positivists have claimed, but also "recognises the existence of invisible but powerful structures and mechanisms" in society (Matthews & Ross, 2010: 29). The present research favours a realism worldview, which opens the door to multiple methods and different forms of data collection.

The design of this research was also informed by the nature of the research questions. According to John Creswell (2014: 20), the necessity of employing multiple research tools derives from the assumption that neither of them is by itself adequate to understand the research problem at hand. In what follows, this section discusses discipline orientations and past research experiences in Translation Studies, suggesting an academic gap in the methodology of studying the notion of effect. For that reason, this research has borrowed methodologies and theoretical approaches from Communication Studies and Literary Theory and introduced quantitative

elements (i.e. questionnaire) into a qualitative research. This section concludes with a detailed description of the combined methodology of this research, the rationale behind its use, and the types of data that are expected to be generated from each method.

The use of social sciences in Translation Studies is reasonably recent. The academic traditions underlying the discipline were primarily based on comparative literature or linguistics until the 1970s. In this sense, Nida's theoretical advance (1964, 1969/2003) is particularly relevant to the present research as the first modern scholarship to define and explore the notion of effect in translation. Nida's major theoretical input is the distinction between formal and dynamic equivalence, which was discussed in Chapter 2. His well-known argument is that a translation should aim for an equivalent effect, where "the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message" (Nida, 1964: 159). This concept of effect, which is concerned with the impact of the message on the receptors, coincides with the scope of this present study.

Nida's concept of effect provides a theoretical inspiration for this research by introducing a receptor-oriented approach and placing the receiver at the centre of the equation. Despite his stated goal, Nida (1964, 1969/2003) failed to show a way to measure effect and his 'scientific' approach to language was subjected to heavy criticism by scholars such as Broeck (1978) and Gentzler (2001) (see the analysis in Chapter 2). After Nida, the effect/reception of translated texts on/by receptors was not considered by scholars in Translation Studies for decades. The close relationship between studies in translation, language learning and linguistics determined that translation research was primarily language and text centred. The contrastive and

linguistic-oriented approaches, e.g. Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (1958) and John C. Catford (1965), compare language and text pairs in an attempt to identify general and specific differences between them. These models had and still have a significant influence on Translation Studies, within which the effect of translations on the receiver was not considered until the twenty-first century.

This lack of interest in the effect of translated texts on the receiver can also be seen in James S. Holmes's (1988/2004: 184-190) "map" of the discipline. In the area of descriptive translation studies (DTS), Holmes presents three possible foci: the examination of the product, the process and the function of translations. In Holmes's framework, different research orientations (product, process and function) correspond to different methodologies or approaches. Product-oriented DTS examines existing translations, which involves the description or analysis of individual translations or a comparative analysis of various translations of the same text into one or more target languages. Process-oriented DTS is concerned with "the process or act of translation itself", i.e. trying to find out what happens in the mind of a translator (Holmes, 2004: 185). Function-oriented DTS often includes a case study of the translation in a particular context, such as the study of the translation of Shakespeare into European languages, or the subtitling of contemporary cartoon films into Arabic.

Compared with other types of research, there was no standard or conventional methodology for receptor-oriented translation studies at the time of Holmes's paper. Although the research issues in function-oriented DTS include which texts were (not) translated at a certain time in a certain place, and the influences that were exerted, this research approach concentrates on the sociology and historiography of translation, for instance, the study of the translation of

Hollywood films into other languages and their reception in different cultures (Holmes, 2004: 185). The study of the effect of translated texts on receptors has not been systematically developed in Translation Studies. In AVT, the role of audiences in the process of film watching and cultural interpretation is presently given more importance (Denton, 2007, 2012; Desilla, 2009, 2012, 2014; Suojanen et al., 2015), but it is still often underestimated. This research aspires to provide some insights into this issue through applying literary reception theory to the context of film watching. It argues that the active participation of readers in the construction of meaning in a literary text also takes place during the process of film watching (see the analysis in Chapter 2). Although, it was in literature that the author was initially proclaimed “dead” (Barthes, 1967), in cinema, viewers are also powerful agents in the construction of meaning. Their active role has to be taken into account when examining the effect of translated audiovisual texts.

While Literary Theory provides theoretical inspirations for this research, since it encourages a reconsideration of the role of viewers in film watching, Communication Studies provides this research with a developed methodology for examining the effect. Compared with Translation Studies, Communication Studies has a much longer history of investigating the effect of media exposure through empirical methods. Research on media effects initiated from social critics, politicians, interest groups, etc. aims to capture the influence of media on opinion and their effects on human behaviour. Systematic research using survey and experimental methods began during the 1920s and 1930s in order to confirm or otherwise the power of propaganda (e.g. Lasswell, 1927). In the early 1960s, many separate studies (e.g. Hovland et al, 1949; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944) were carried out into the effects of different types of content and media, concentrating on the possibilities of using

media for planned persuasion or information. Although the approach to media effects has shifted from quantitative and behaviourist methods towards deeper qualitative and ethnographic methods since the late 1970s, the basic procedure of reception studies remains the same, which consists of questioning people who have been exposed to a certain type of content about their thoughts, perceptions, inferences, and feelings (Lindlof, 1995: 55). When it comes to examining the effect/reception of a translated text, this pattern of research also applies, that is, investigating the effect requires a survey of people and an empirical study, which involve observation and experimentation.

Within Translation Studies, empirical research methods have been used more frequently in the area of media accessibility (e.g. De Linde & Kay, 1999; Fryer, 2013; Romero Fresco, 2015). Studies on media accessibility are initially intended to test the effectiveness of intralingual subtitling for deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers (De Linde & Kay, 1999). Survey and experimental methods, which include both semi-controlled and controlled experiments, have been employed to elicit viewers' responses to subtitled programmes. A survey is often used to collect general information about viewers' opinions on subtitled programmes, while semi-controlled approaches such as structured interviews or focus groups are generally more helpful in eliciting specific information about the effect of particular subtitle features, e.g. display time variations according to programme type, the synchronisation of speech with subtitles and the integration of text and image, leading to judgments about these features (De Linde & Kay, 1999: 33 & 36). Controlled approaches, such as studies using eye-tracking tools, can record audiences' actual viewing processes and gain precise behavioural information about how audiences use subtitles and how particular subtitle characteristics are received. Each approach yields certain types of

information.

These studies bear directly on the set-up of the empirical research in the present study by illustrating the type of data that can be generated from different experimental methods. They provide important insights into the effect of particular subtitle features, such as different display times, fonts and colours, on the effectiveness of subtitles (De Linde & Kay, 1999: 38). However, the results gleaned from these experiments only show viewers' preferences and the comparative effects of subtitle formats. Further understanding of audience reception has to be supported by gauging viewers' comprehension of the content. Therefore, a methodological apparatus which comprises textual analysis, aiming to identify the features of ST to TT transfer, and empirically testing audiences' interpretation of the translated texts suits the scope of this research.

Ritva Leppihalme (1997) is one of the very few scholars in Translation Studies who has combined empirical research methods with textual analysis and developed systematic research on the reception of cultural allusions. Leppihalme (1997: 132) suggests that unfamiliar allusions may become 'culture bumps' for the target reader who does not share a cultural background with the ST reader; and the translator's choice of strategies largely determines whether TT readers can understand the meaning suggested in the ST. In order to verify these hypotheses, she designed an empirical study, aiming to find out how Finnish readers responded to English phrases which contained allusions and were translated into Finnish. Initial analysis found that a large proportion of allusions in seven published translations of English novels were translated by "low-effort, time-saving strategies", such as literal translation (1997: 91). In her empirical design, participants were asked to read a number of short translated text extracts. Their interpretations of allusions contained

in these passages were recorded (1997: 140-162). Her findings confirmed the hypothesis that unfamiliar allusions that were translated literally did become ‘culture bumps’ that caused difficulties in comprehension.

Leppihalme (1997) influences the methodological framework in this research by highlighting the importance of reader responses in Translation Studies and, more importantly, by developing empirical research methods to examine reader responses. Leppihalme also stresses the vital impact of culture-specificity on the comprehension of allusions: allusions are embedded in their own culture, the translation of which presupposes a cross-cultural transfer. The comprehension of allusions involves the participation of receivers in the target language culture. Similarly, this research has set up an empirical experiment to investigate the translation of CSRs and its reception by British and Chinese viewers. While Leppihalme’s research concerns reader responses to allusions in translated fiction and journalistic texts, this research focuses on audience reception of subtitled films. As Carol O’Sullivan (2013) has stated, in the case of audiovisual translation, meaning-making is based on the interaction between dialogues, moving images, music and other semiotic codes of the audiovisual text. The issue of audience reception is more complex than in a linear, written text. Leppihalme’s intention was to verify that unfamiliar allusions may become culture bumps in literal translation and, thus, a translator’s intervention can be justified. Only target readers’ responses to the translated texts were tested in Leppihalme’s experiments. The present research attempts to investigate to what extent the CSRs in the selected films were understood by both a SL and a TL audience.

A few pioneering researchers from Forlì (e.g. Bucaria & Chiaro, 2007; Antonini, 2008; Denton & Ciampi, 2012) conducted a series of empirical studies on



the reception of CSRs in translated audiovisual texts, mostly dubbed programmes. Bucaria and Chiaro (2007) set up an experimental study on audience perception and enjoyment of dubbed programmes on Italian TV. A corpus of clips from American TV series dubbed into Italian was collected and shown to samples of viewers. Each of the clips contained an example of the problematic elements, with particular focus on highly specific cultural references and examples of “dubbese” (unnatural sounding Italian expressions calqued from other languages). After watching the clips, respondents were asked to fill out a questionnaire, which was set up to measure their understanding and enjoyment of the excerpts. A similar study has been conducted by Antonini (2008), who set up a large-scale research project based upon a corpus of over 300 hours of dubbed TV programmes in order to assess Italian TV viewers’ perception and understanding of the CSRs contained in them. The study was carried out by means of an e-questionnaire and web technology. The findings show that despite viewers being sure of having understood the CSRs in the programmes, the results of the questionnaire suggested otherwise. While these studies were limited to the investigation of the reception of dubbed programmes, Luque (2003) examines the reception of translated audiovisual humour in both subtitling and dubbing (see Section 2.6 above) and applies the research method of questionnaire and interview to test audiences’ responses.

The present research partly borrows the model of these studies. The first part of this research undertakes a descriptive analysis of the original Chinese dialogues and the English subtitles. This analysis forms a hypothesis regarding the effect that the subtitles might have on British viewers’ reception of the selected Chinese films and Chinese culture. An audience response test, by way of a questionnaire, complements the investigation based on the analysis of texts by incorporating the

perspectives of the receptors. The data obtained through the questionnaire provides empirical evidence that either supports or refutes the findings in the first part of the textual analysis. Both textual analysis and empirical research articulate a specific shade of opinion. Employing multiple measures to investigate a research problem triangulates the results and increases the credibility and the validity of the present study (Hussein, 2009). The design of the study allows it to detect features of subtitled Chinese films, but also to gain insights into audiences' responses to the translated texts.

The triangulation occurs not only at the level of research design, but also at the level of data collection. In the empirical test of this research, both closed-ended and open-ended questions have been used in the questionnaire. The former collects quantitative data on whether or not the viewers have perceived the culture-specific values as represented in the films, while the later was set out to elicit qualitative data on audiences' subjective interpretations of the CSRs as represented in the selected films. Collecting both types of data on audience response provides a more comprehensive view on the subtitling of Chinese films and the effect of subtitled Chinese films on audiences. The detailed methodological considerations concerning the two research methods are respectively outlined in the following two sections.

### **4.3 Comparative Textual Analysis**

In line with the research design outlined above, this section discusses the analytical framework that was used in textual analysis and the procedures of conducting the analysis. Suojanen et al. (2015: 112) suggest that CSRs have emerged as one of the most popular themes in reception research (others include the reception

of humour, linguistic and stylistic issues) in Translation Studies. Previous reception studies (e.g. Leppihalme, 1997; Bucaria & Chiaro, 2007; Antonini, 2008; Desilla, 2009, 2012, 2014) suggest that references that are related to a foreign source culture are the most challenging to interpret in intercultural transfer. Translation strategies, especially the translation strategies used for CSRs, influence the way the source culture is perceived in the target culture. In AVT, the translation of CSRs influences audiences' comprehension and enjoyment of the whole film.

In the analysis, terms of address, rhetorical questions and Confucian values with respect to sexuality and family traditions were chosen as identifiable markers of culture. The main reason for choosing these cultural references (out of the totality of CSRs and other linguistic features, such as registers/dialects and orality features) is because they are the most prominent cultural markers in all three films. In addition, these three types of CSRs constitute three important forms of representation of Chinese identity in films. The analysis of how these three types of CSRs are translated in the subtitled version of the chosen films is of paramount importance in unveiling British viewers' understanding of the selected Chinese films and Chinese culture represented in them. Analytical findings in the present study could lead to generalisable conclusions regarding the transfer of culture in the Chinese-English pair.

This section is divided into three subsections. The first subsection reviews established theories that are relative to the conceptualisation of CSRs in order to identify the CSRs in the selected films. Section 4.3.2 explains how Gideon Toury's (1995/2012) analysis of descriptive translation studies (DTS) and his concept of norms have been used as analytical tools for the textual analysis in this research. The third subsection draws on a few concepts that have provided an orienting lens for the

analysis of STs and TTs in the present research, e.g. Lawrence Venuti's (1995b; 1998b) foreignisation/domestication strategies, taxonomies of translation strategies by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2004), Leppihalme (1997), and Jan Pedersen (2005; 2011). The discussion that follows explains how these theories and concepts have informed the textual analysis in the present research.

#### **4.3.1 Defining and identifying culture-specific references**

The first problem of examining cultural transfer in translation derives from the notion of culture. As suggested by Javier Franco Aixela (1996: 57), the main difficulty in defining a culture-specific item lies in the fact that everything is culturally produced, even the language itself. Recognition of the intercultural translation problems arises from the identification of the CSRs in the selected films. In their influential *Culture: A Critical Review of the Concepts and Definitions* (1952), American anthropologists Alfred Louis Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn reviewed over a hundred definitions of culture and grouped them into descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic definitions. According to them, although various classifications of culture have been proposed, the central idea formulated by most social scientists is that “the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values” (1952: 181). Customs, social settings and social norms are important cultural values, which are most likely to pose challenges in translation and to affect the reception of the translated texts.

CSRs are treated here as manifestations of these cultural values. When it comes to the definition of CSRs, scholars have provided various explanations using a

vast array of terms. Terming them “*realia*”, Sergej Vlahov and Sider Florin define CSRs as:

words and composed locutions which constitute denominations of objects, concepts, which are typical of a geographical environment, of a culture, of the material life or of historical-social peculiarities of a people, nation, country, or tribe and which, thus, carry a national, local or historical colouring and do not have precise equivalents in other languages.

(Vlahov & Florin, 1969: 438)

Leppihalme (1997: 3) uses the concept of “allusion” to define a variety of “preformed linguistic material in either its original or a modified form, and of proper names, to convey often implicit meaning”. In AVT Studies, Jorge Díaz Cintas and Aline Remael (2007: 200) use the term “culture-bound terms” and Pedersen (2011: 44) proposes the expression “extralinguistic culture references”, which refer to “people, places, customs, institutions, food, etc. that are specific to a certain culture”. In one of the most recent publications regarding the translation of CSRs, Irene Ranzato (2016) provides an overview of the academic approaches to the cultural elements, in which CSRs is considered as the most widely diffused term. The present research has also chosen CSRs as the preferred term to refer to the cultural elements in translation.

Aixela’s (1996) definition explicitly refers to the problem that these CSRs constitute in translation: CSRs (or “culture-specific items” in his terms) are “those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a

translation problem in their transference to a target text” (1996: 58). According to him (1996: 58), a conflict may arise from the nonexistence of the referred item in the target language or “the different value (whether determined by ideology, usage, frequency, etc.) of the given item in the target language culture”. The issue of the translation of CSRs is also addressed by Leppihalme (1997). She suggests that instead of conveying a coherent meaning, cultural allusions may create a culture bump for the TT readers. Misunderstandings may occur if translators fail to recognise implicit messages and connotations grounded in the source culture. More importantly, Leppihalme goes on to examine the validity of dealing with this problem by applying appropriate translation strategies. I will return to the explication of each translation strategy further down. Leppihalme’s concept of allusions is particularly relevant to the present research because this concept presupposes a kind of “receiver participation” (1997: 4). Through allusions to the hidden meanings, the readers should be able to acquire deeper knowledge of the work and in some ways be participants in the creation of the work. The interest in the role of the reader has made her definition a particularly relevant point in audience reception research.

In the field of AVT, Pedersen (2011: 43) argues that an extralinguistic cultural reference refers to “an extralinguistic entity or process”, for instance, a geographical place or an institution, that is “attempted by means of any cultural linguistic expression”. The referent of the said expression is assumed to be within the knowledge system of the target audience and, thus, is identifiable by them. Pedersen’s definition is particularly interesting as it refers to the competence of the audience. For Pedersen, the question of CSRs needs to be considered from the point of view of the target audience, rather than the translators. The object of this study overlaps with the object of Pedersen’s study, as the vast majority of CSRs are

extralinguistic entities such as names of people, places, institutions, customs, etc.

Whatever their name, CSRs are inevitably related to those “objects, ideas, and other phenomena” that are unique in the source language/culture and which are unknown in the target culture (Tomaszczyk, 1983: 289). In other words, not only can the words and expressions be culture-specific lexically, but those ideas and phenomena that “are tied up with a country’s culture, history or geography” are also culture-specific conceptually (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007: 200). References to culture-specific ideas/values/traditions, which are restricted to the source culture or alien to the receiving culture, are defined as CSRs in the present research.

Based on the definitions and uses cited, the present research identifies three types of CSRs. These are the translation of terms of address and its effect on issues of power and solidarity as expressed in the films; the translation of rhetorical questions as a particular feature of Chinese language to express politeness; and the translation of Confucian values with regard to sexuality and family traditions and its impact on audiences’ reception of Chinese culture. These three types of CSRs are identified as the most prominent cultural markers in all three films through an initial comparison of the English subtitles and the original dialogues of the selected films. The high occurrence of these cultural markers poses serious translation challenges and may lead to comprehension challenges for the British viewers, especially their comprehension of social hierarchy, politeness, sexuality and family values, which are essential to traditional Chinese culture. The analysis of how these three types of CSRs are translated in the English subtitles of the selected films involves analysis of translation at a linguistic level, at a syntactic level, and at textual/ideological level. Through the analysis, the current research hopes to reflect how British viewers understand the Chinese films under investigation and Chinese culture represented in

them. Detailed textual analysis of the translation of these CSRs is presented in Chapter 5.

#### **4.3.2 A descriptive textual analysis**

This subsection illustrates how Toury's (1995/2012) theory of descriptive translation studies and the notion of norms are relevant to the investigation of effect in this research. Rather than guiding detailed analysis of the translation of each instance of CSRs, Toury looks at translation from the perspective of the translator and focuses on the investigation of how translators' behaviour is regulated or influenced by norms. The present research employs Toury's notion of norms but adopts the perspective of the receiver: norms, to a large extent, reflect the target audience's expectations, on which translators' decisions are often based.

In their methodological guide for research in Translation Studies, Gabriela Saldanha and Sharon O'Brien (2014: 54) state that the aim of finding out how texts are used to perform certain functions (or the effect of translated texts in this research) has to be achieved by identifying patterns. Toury's approach to descriptive translation studies provides "a non-prescriptive means" to investigate such patterns in the form of tendencies or "norms" in translation (Munday, 2016: 169). Toury's theory of descriptive translation studies and his concept of norms have significant impact on Translation Studies. His works move Translation Studies "toward an attention and emphasis onto the target text" or the reception of translation in the target culture, at a time when this discipline was marked by the point of view of textual analysis (Munday, 2016: 169).

As Pedersen (2011: 74) suggests, it is possible to view the translation



approaches and strategies from a process-oriented perspective, i.e. to look at the subtitling process from a subtitler's point of view. Within the realm of DTS, Toury (2012: 31-34) proposes to situate the text within the target culture system and to undertake a textual analysis which can identify the relationships between the source text and target text. The hypothesis is that the examination of the norm-governed translated texts and/or the statements by the professionals involved in the translation process, such as translators, distributors, and publishers and so on, would reflect the "norm" at work in the translation process (Toury, 2012: 64 & 88). Pedersen (2011: 70) makes a relevant statement when he argues that translation strategies are central to studies that seek to uncover norms as they lead to "textual manipulation", which is observable from the analysis of the translation product. Toury's assumption has a direct bearing on the present research, in which textual analysis of translation products aims to identify recurrent patterns in subtitling. Although this research does not investigate in detail the different norm categories (preliminary, operational and textual-linguistic norms) proposed by Toury, the analytical approach taken remains descriptive from a different point of view.

However, the intention of Toury's descriptive analysis is to generalise the patterns identified in a ST-TT pair and to reconstruct norms that have governed the translation of the text based on the analysis of the translation product. According to Toury (2012), similar textual analysis can be extended to different genres, texts produced at different periods and texts of different language pairs, etc. in order to identify the norms pertaining to each kind of translation. In this way, Toury (2012: 5) has used textual analysis as a means to reflect on a translator's decision-making process and to provide explanations for the translator's behaviour. On the other hand, both Pedersen (2011) and this research view translation strategies from 'a product-

and audience-oriented perspective', that is, to analyse the existing subtitles with the target audience in mind. In this sense, Toury's concept of norms meets that of the 'horizon of expectations'. Through the textual analysis, this research considers the effect that the translation strategies adopted in the target text may have on receptors.

Moreover, Toury (2004) shows more concern for linking translators' linguistic choices with the sociocultural factors that influence translators' behaviour and their choices. For this reason, Chapter 3 of this thesis was devoted to the historical and cultural context of Chinese film translation, with a focus on its impact on the British public's horizon of expectations. The comparative textual analysis of this research helps to reflect on whether English subtitles in Chinese films conform to target audiences' expectations of Chinese culture.

#### **4.3.3 Conceptual framework**

This subsection presents a set of concepts which suggest what to look for in the analysis of subtitles. This discussion goes from Venuti's general approaches to foreignisation and domestication to taxonomies of detailed translation strategies. The intention is not to offer an exhaustive account of translation approaches and strategies, but to set out a conceptual framework that will be used in the textual analysis. The general translation approach that has been adopted and the detailed strategies that have been used by the subtitlers to deal with each instance of CSRs in the selected films are identified in line with these taxonomies.

In discussing cultural transfer in translation, the notions of foreignisation and domestication were brought to the fore in Translation Studies by Venuti. For Venuti (1995b; 1998b), domestication, or acculturation, designates the type of translation in

which a transparent, fluent style is adopted to minimise the strangeness of the foreign text for target language readers; while foreignisation means that a target text is produced which deliberately breaks target linguistic or cultural conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original. Venuti (1998a: 67) suggests that “translation wields enormous power in constructing representations of foreign culture”.

According to Venuti (1995a: 23), “translation is inevitably domesticating since it is usually made to conform to the needs and values of the domestic culture”. This view is echoed by Gambier (2003: 179) who states that an audiovisual product has to be “foreign” enough to retain the viewers’ attention, but similar enough to what viewers are familiar with to be accepted. Therefore, a translation may ultimately involve domestication and manipulation of a text in order to meet dominant expectations and preferences. In spite of this, Venuti supports Friedrich Schleiermacher’s (1813/2012) espousal of alienation for its potential to retain the foreignness of the source culture and to encourage the receptors to accept cultural differences. Quoting from Venuti’s words, foreignisation is desirable to “resist the dominant values in the receiving culture” and “to signify the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text” (Venuti, 1995b: 20). The wholesale domestication of a foreign text risks sacrificing the cultural Other represented in it (Venuti, 1995b). The comparative analysis of the original Chinese dialogues and English subtitles in the selected films provides examples that will support or refute Venuti’s argument.

The spectrum of foreignisation/domestication represents tendencies in relation to where each translation strategy is situated according to its degree of cultural mediation. Each translation strategy tends towards one pole or the other. While Venuti’s framework of general approaches remains important, more emphasis

in this subsection has been placed on the discussion of detailed strategies, especially their application to the translation of audiovisual products. Three influential taxonomies of translation strategies Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2004), Leppihalme (1997) and Pedersen (2005, 2011) that have been used as analytical tools in the textual analysis of this research are discussed below. The common characteristic of these three taxonomies is that they were all designed for the translation within European language pairs. Strategies, such as “keeping the cultural allusions unaltered” in Leppihalme’s term or “retain [the CSR] in the subtitle unchanged” according to Pedersen, would not always work for Chinese to English translation. Analysis of the translation strategies used in subtitling Chinese films may reflect whether general subtitling norms, which govern translations between similar cultures, are applicable to translation between two remote language and cultures, for instance, from Chinese into English. If they are not, then should a sub-norm which prioritises culture, be applied in this case? This question is going to be discussed alongside the analysis of examples of the CSRs in Chapter 5.

Vinay and Darbelnet (2004: 128-137) identify two translation “methods”, direct and oblique translation, which cover seven “procedures”. Although their notes date from almost sixty years ago, when Translation Studies was an emerging discipline, these notes on translation procedures provide an explanation of each strategy. Direct translation includes borrowing, calque and literal translation, the definitions of which are self-explanatory. In cases where direct translation is unacceptable, either because it has no meaning or it is structurally impossible, Vinay and Darbelnet propose an oblique translation method, which includes transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. Transposition involves the replacement of the SL message with another that fits better into the utterance. The replacement

should not have changed the meaning of the message and should have retained the particular nuance of style (Vinay and Darbelnet, 2004: 132). Modulation is “a variation of the form of the message by a change in point of view” of the SL (2004: 133). Later on, the textual analysis shows that this strategy has been commonly used in the translation of the rhetorical questions in the selected films.

Compared with transposition and modulation, equivalence and adaptation involve more complex procedures than grammatical re-categorisation. Equivalence refers to “cases where languages describe the same situation by different stylistic or structural means” (2004: 134). The same situation can be rendered by two equivalent texts using “completely different structural and stylistic methods” (2004: 134). Equivalence is often used for the translation of fixed idioms, clichés, proverbs, etc. Adaptation involves changing cultural references when the SL message does not exist or is unknown in the target culture. Adaptation here produces “a situational equivalence” (2004: 135).

Although Vinay and Darbelnet’s model centres solely on the French-English pair, many of their concepts have found their way into new taxonomies by subsequent scholars, such as Birgit Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and Pedersen (2005, 2011). However, this model was set out for translation in general. The translation of CSRs did not attract particular attention. CSRs “stand out from the common lexical context” and “distinguish themselves for their heterogeneity” (Finkel, 1962: 112). They may require more attention and extra efforts to be decoded. Subsequent scholars (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993; Leppihalme, 1997; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007; Pedersen, 2005, 2011) have devised particular taxonomies of translation strategies to deal with CSRs, of which Leppihalme’s is one of the most influential.

Leppihalme (1997) distinguishes two types of cultural allusions: “proper-

name” and “key-phrase” and proposes potential strategies for the translation of them separately. The basic translation strategies for a proper-name include keeping it unaltered, changing it, or omitting it. In addition, Leppihalme highlights three variations in the strategies for the translation of allusive proper-names, which include retaining the name unchanged or changing to its conventional form in TL, replacing it by another SL name or a TL name, and omitting it (1997: 78-79). Leppihalme’s notion of cultural allusions and her strategies in dealing with proper names provide important analytical tools for the textual analysis in this research, in which the translation of personal names as a specific type of proper names is discussed (see Section 5.2.2).

Leppihalme (1997: 83) argues that in most cases, key-phrases can be translated in a variety of ways due to synonyms, variations of word order, etc. The degree of familiarity with the key-phrase by the target readership is one of the important criteria in selecting an appropriate translation strategy. Based on this understanding, Leppihalme (1997: 84) proposes nine strategies for the translation of transcultural key-phrase allusions: use a standard translation; apply minimal changes (or a literal translation without regard to connotative or contextual meaning); add extra-allusive guidance in the target text which is believed to be unnecessary by the author with her/his SL viewpoint; use footnotes, endnotes, translator’s prefaces or other explicit explanations; adopt simulated familiarity or internal marking to signal the presence of borrowed words; replace the allusion by a preformed TL item; or reduce it to sense by rephrase, either by making its meaning overt or dispensing with the allusive key-phrase itself; re-creation and omission of the allusion.

Leppihalme (1997: 84) suggests that the translator from English into Finnish cannot expect the target reader to be familiar with the key-phrases allusions in the

source text. A similar argument could possibly be made about translation from Chinese into English. British viewers are generally not expected to be familiar with Chinese cultural allusions and this assumption may have impact on translators' choices of approaches and strategies (Yuan, 2010). If this were the case, analysis of the translated texts would reflect this influence. On the other hand, empirical research on audience response indicates to what extent British viewers are familiar with the cultural allusions that appeared in the English subtitles of Chinese films.

In addition to the linguistic and cultural differences involved in dealing with CSRs, rendering CSRs within the audiovisual realm is more difficult as translators have to deal with semiotically complex texts. Henrik Gottlieb (1997: 143) distinguishes four semiotic channels in subtitling: "verbal audio, nonverbal audio, verbal visual, non-verbal visual". The interdependence between the written text and the image constitutes the distinctive feature of AVT (Ripoll, 2005: 75). In subtitling, a text contains not only verbal dialogue, but also images, background music and sound effects. Interlingual subtitling not only involves the transfer from one language/culture to another, but also from one mode (spoken) to another (written) (Pedersen, 2011: 11). This added difficulty related to subtitling CSRs may require conscious employment of translation strategies.

Pedersen (2005: 1) suggests that one of the most revealing translation problems is "when some reference to the source culture is made, and there is no obvious official equivalent in the target culture". Subtitling cultural references is more challenging than other types of translation such as literary translation or dubbing, where the source text is replaced by the target text (Gottlieb, 1997: 141). Subtitling, in contrast, is additive; it adds information. Pedersen (2011) proposes six strategies for the rendering of what he calls "extralinguistic cultural references"

(ECRs) in translation, in general, and in subtitling, in particular. Although Pedersen's taxonomy of translation strategies is, to a high degree, similar to that of Leppihalme (1997), it takes into account the constraints of the audiovisual context and makes finer distinctions.

Pedersen (2005: 3) lists the strategies for rendering ECRs in a target language, from the most foreignising to the most domesticating. However, instead of using Venuti's terms of 'foreignising' and 'domesticating', which he considers as "somewhat counterproductive" when translating from English into smaller languages, Pedersen proposes to use the more neutral labels "source language oriented" and "target language oriented" (*ibid*). Pedersen (2011: 71 & 76) suggests that the most "source-oriented" translation strategy is retention, that is, "the ST ECR is retained in the subtitle unchanged, or slightly adapted to meet TL requirements". He argues that retention is the most faithful strategy towards the ST, as the translator is true not only to the spirit, but indeed the exactly same words of the ST. The foreign item can also be omitted or deleted. The least source-oriented or the most target-oriented strategy is omission. In this case, the ST ECR is not reproduced in the TT at all. Pedersen (2005) suggests that omission can be opted for simply out of laziness (the subtitler does not look up something s/he does not know) or that it can be the only viable option in some circumstances, for instance, when time and space restrict the subtitler's options regarding other strategies.

Between the two poles, there are a number of strategies. From the source-oriented strategies towards more target-oriented ones, the translation strategies include: explication (making the subtitled ECR more specific than the ST ECR through completing or adding more semantic content), direct translation (only changing the language and no semantic alteration being made), generalisation



(rendering the ST ECR to a less specific TT), substitution (replacing the ST ECR with another ECR from the source culture, target culture, or something completely different) (Pedersen, 2011: 76).

Pedersen (2007: 31) states that when dealing with the ECRs which are well known to the ST's original audience, but virtually unknown to the TT audience, the subtitler has to intervene in order to help the audience to access the ECR. This can be done by explication, direction translation or generalisation, while a degree of cultural interchangeability between the source and target culture is presumed if the strategy of substitution is used. Pedersen (2007: 33) argues that the effect of employing the strategy of substitution could be "centripetal" (cited from Gottlieb, 2000: 22)—i.e. it removes the more exotic and peripheral ECRs and replaces them with those that are more common or central—or could lead to "standardising", in Toury's (1995: 267) terms. The effect of using these strategies will be discussed in Chapter 5 when analysing the translation of CSRs in each instance.

Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy is constructed primarily for rendering ECRs in subtitling and, thus, is a useful point of reference for the present study. While the subtitlers may not always be consciously aware of the choices that they have made, an analysis of the translation product should be able to illustrate how the ECRs have been rendered in a TT (Pedersen, 2005). However, Pedersen admits that his taxonomy primarily focuses on "semantic operations, and would not be of much help for analysing syntactic shifts between ST and TT" (2011: 74). Apart from this, his classification can be easily extrapolated to the corpus of subtitles and the case study in the present study.

To sum up, despite the variations and terminological overlaps in the way the translation approaches and strategies are understood and used, the

foreignisation/domestication model and the three taxonomies, all together, provide well-defined clarifications that are detailed and agile enough to serve as a valid tool for analysing the translation of CSRs in the present study. Lukasz Bogucki (2015: 73) argues that the preferred technique for the rendition of CSRs in AVT depends on “the overall strategy chosen for the translation of audiovisual material, the mode of translation, and norms binding in the particular socio-cultural environment”. Due to the semiotic switch between the spoken to written modes and the temporal and spatial constraints in subtitling, film dialogue is rarely translated without being shortened (either for the deletion of repetitive or phatic oral features or for other purposes). Previous studies have shown a tendency towards abbreviation, reduction or condensation in subtitling (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007; Bogucki, 2015). Bogucki (2015: 85) suggests that the rationale behind this choice is mostly economical, that is, “striving to convey a maximum of information using a minimum of linguistic means”. In this sense, the decision-making process in AVT is a constant compromise between the comprehension of a message and the technical constraints.

In addition, Pedersen (2011: 23) argues that “the transient nature of subtitling makes ‘immediate intelligibility’ a necessity”. The immediacy of film and the technical constraints of AVT may imply giving priority to a translation “which is immediately accessible by the target viewers” over cultural considerations (Ramière, 2006: 161). Translators may opt for an omission or neutralisation of the CSRs “which would otherwise be difficult for the target audience to understand” (2006: 161). Therefore, during the process of subtitling, what happens to the cultural representation in the subtitles because of the constraints and inevitable abbreviation and how audiences actually respond to the cultural transfer in subtitles are two main

issues that the present research is concerned with. The textual analysis in this research provides an in-depth case study of the subtitling of the CSRs in the selected films. It provides examples that may confirm or refute the foreignisation/domestication model and that test the validity of translation strategies on facilitating audience reception.

#### **4.4 Questionnaire: Methodological and Practical Considerations**

The hypothesis behind the empirical research is that translators adopt certain approaches and strategies in translation practice, which aims to facilitate audiences' understanding of the films. However, without empirical studies on audiences' reception of the translations, the translators would not know the actual effect of the translated texts on audiences, and to what extent the intended effect has been achieved. An experimental study was therefore designed to probe the comprehension of the selected Chinese films by a sample of British and Chinese viewers, while also testing to what extent the textual analysis carried out represents a realistic account of understanding by British and Chinese audiences. This section outlines how the experimental study was conducted. It provides the reader with information on the questionnaire design (e.g. whether qualitative or quantitative data are intended), the selection of the participants (e.g. age, ethnicity, socio-cultural background, etc.) and the procedures of data collection.

##### **4.4.1 Questionnaire design**

A questionnaire has been used in the present study as the main instrument to collect data on audience responses to the subtitled Chinese films. According to Luis

Pérez-González (2014: 152), a questionnaire is one of the most common methods (the other one being interviews) used by scholars to interact with informants such as audiences, translators and other scholars in AVT Studies. Suojanen et al. (2015) share a similar view. In their volume about research on user experience of reading/watching translated texts, they (2015: 116) argue that questionnaires and interviews play a central role in a study that investigates attitudes, habits, opinions, etc. Questionnaires used in surveys are usually constructed to test for current opinion or to create a measure of people's views on a current issue. Thus, when designing an empirical research that aims to investigate Chinese and British viewers' interpretations of subtitled Chinese films, a questionnaire becomes the most appropriate choice.

As it has been made clear at the beginning of this chapter, experimental research in this study is directly addressing the third research question—How do British and Chinese viewers understand CSRs as represented in Chinese films? What effect do English subtitles have on British viewers' understanding of the CSRs in subtitled Chinese films and by extension of the films themselves? In line with this research question, questions that probe British and Chinese viewers' understanding of each instance of CSRs in the selected films have been included in the questionnaire. A comparison of the British viewers' comprehension of the CSRs based on subtitles and the Chinese viewers' comprehension through the original soundtrack would reflect the effect of English subtitles in mediating audience reception and thus would answer this question. On the other hand, data elicited in the questionnaire on actual viewers' responses would, to a large extent, complement the analytical findings (presented in Chapter 5) in relation to the first research question and provide some insights into the second research question regarding the cultural

representation in Chinese films and British viewers' expectations of Chinese culture.

The questionnaire used in the present study is structured in three parts: the questions that query participants' personal details and background information, the questions that explore participants' understanding of the selected film sequences, and participants' overview of the subtitles in all excerpts. The first part of the questionnaire contains ten questions about the participants' age, gender, occupation, educational level, their language skills, and their previous experience with Chinese films and Chinese culture. The roster of items and the setting of the first four questions were adapted from previous empirical research in Translation Studies (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014). The participants are split in four groups based on age (18-24, 25-34, 35-60, over 60), occupation (student, employed, unemployed, retired) and educational level (A-Level or below, undergraduate, master, PhD or above). Three options (male, female, other) were provided for the question about gender. Q5 in the questionnaire divided the participants into native English speakers and native Chinese speakers based on their language skills. Filter questions were included in order to allow Chinese participants to skip questions that were not applicable to them, e.g. Q6, which asks the participants if they have any knowledge of the Chinese language. Questions regarding both groups' experience with Chinese films and Chinese culture were asked (Q7-Q10). Those who had watched the whole films or considered themselves familiar with Chinese culture were assumed to have a better understanding of the selected film sequences. However, whether this would lead to clearer answers in the questionnaire would have to be decided in the data analysis.

The second part of the questionnaire (from Q11 to Q27) contains questions about audiences' understanding of the selected film sequences, in particular, the CSRs represented in them. The decision to choose the three film sequences was

based on the high concentration of the three types of CSRs under investigation (terms of address, rhetorical questions and Confucian values related to sexuality and family traditions). These three types of CSRs were identified as common cultural features in all three films. Research on audience reception of these CSRs ensured that the translation and audience reception of the selected Chinese films were examined in a systematic way.

Both closed-ended questions and open-ended questions were exploited in the questionnaire in order to allow the participants to focus on a specific aspect and, at the same time, to express their subjective views. According to Pérez-González (2014: 157), closed-ended questions provide clear-cut information with predetermined responses, while open-ended questions with respondents allow the participants to express subjective views. In the case of the present study, closed-ended questions restricted the possible responses from the participants to the answers listed. Responses to these questions provided information of participants' understanding of some of the CSRs by choosing one among a range of proposed options. Open-ended questions queried the participants' understanding of some of the culturally marked visual and nonverbal cues, which were likely to be interpreted differently by individual participants. The open-ended questions employed in the present questionnaire allowed participants to write their responses to a question in a text box, while restricted in the length of the response. Employing open-ended questions gave the participants maximum independence in formulating and expressing their thoughts on a focused aspect. A combination of both open-ended and closed-ended questions in the questionnaire enabled the participants to express their agreement with a prelisted statement, and it also encouraged them to volunteer unprompted input.

The data that collected from closed-ended and open-ended questions were analysed separately and then merged together to form an overall understanding of audience reception of the selected film sequences. Closed-ended questions led to structured data that was analysed quantitatively, while open-ended questions provided qualitative data regarding the participants' subjective judgements. This, to a small extent, compensated the restricted nature of the questionnaire (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014: 157). The integration of two types of data allows respondents to contribute both individual points of view and clear-cut information and, thus, neutralises the weaknesses of each type of data. It is expected to provide a more complete understanding of audiences' reception of the subtitled Chinese films than either quantitative or qualitative data alone.

In the last part of the questionnaire (Q28 to Q33), participants were asked to provide information on their preferences of subtitles in films and their overall assessment of the English subtitles in the excerpts. Only closed-ended questions were adopted in this part in order to better categorise the respondents' assessment of the subtitles provided. Three or four items of predicted choices were listed for each question. Responses to these questions are intended to provide evidence of the participants' general evaluation of the subtitles.

In order to provide the participants some basic information about the whole film, a description of the plot is given before the questions regarding each film clip, which risks biasing the participants with some of their choices. However, these descriptions add substantially to the participants' comprehension of the whole films and help them with the theme of the film. In formulating the written introductions, the researcher endeavoured to present only factual events in the films prior to the sequences without using any adjectives or descriptive clauses to describe the

interlocutors' relationship or any characterisations which might influence the subject's response.

#### **4.4.2 Participant selection**

With regard to the selection of the participants, Saldanha and O'Brien (2014: 27-38) propose validity, reliability and generalisability as three quality criteria that a research should meet. In line with these criteria, twelve native English speakers and twelve native Chinese speakers resident in the UK were selected as the representative samples of British and Chinese audiences. All the participants in this research project were recruited on a voluntary basis. Both groups of participants were recruited through friends' recommendations, posters, Facebook and other social networks. Some of the respondents were chosen by the researcher through personal networking. The research governor at the University of Roehampton's Department of Media, Culture and Language, to which the researcher belongs, assisted in circulating information about the research project to students and members of staff through emails. Posters were attached to the demonstration boards located on the ground floor of the University Library. Information about the research project was posted on Facebook, Wechat (a Chinese social networking service similar to Twitter) and forwarded to other social networks to recruit participants. Since the purpose of the tests is to see whether reliable evidence can be obtained to support the findings developed in the first part of the textual analysis rather than generate a comprehensive understanding of audiences' responses through quantitative data, the recruitment of twelve subjects in each category is considered to be adequate for the test. In addition, the nature of data in this study—audiences' individual interpretations of the selected film sequences—restricts the amount of data that can



be analysed.

The language competence in Chinese and English was set as the main criterion for confining potentially eligible volunteers. The British audience group was formed of those who are resident in the UK and who use English as their first language. The rationale for relying on native speakers as the representative samples of each audience group was to avoid the misunderstanding caused by the participants' language competence rather than the translation of subtitles. For instance, if a Spanish or Italian audience cannot capture the culture-specific reference in the English language, the difficulties might be caused by his/her English skills, rather than the translation itself. Selecting solely native speakers as research subjects increased the credibility and reliability of the empirical data. A question was set out in the questionnaire to make sure that the British participants had no knowledge of the Chinese language. This was to ensure that all subjects had to rely on subtitles when interpreting the Chinese film sequences, hence the validity of the data.

As the entire research project was conducted in the UK, it was decided that the Chinese audience group would consist of native Chinese speakers who are resident in the UK for the sake of accessibility. Thus, it was expected that the Chinese participants would have a level of knowledge in English which equals to 4.5 or above in the IELTS qualification as this was the minimum language requirement for non-native English speakers to come to the UK (see GOV.UK Website). Therefore, the Chinese participants' English skills would be able to allow them to understand the questions in the questionnaire that were written in English and be able to comment on the English subtitles of the Chinese films. In addition, as the number of the Chinese participants was relatively limited, I was personally aware of

the English skills of each of the participants, and was satisfied that it was at least adequate for the questionnaire.

The questionnaire used for the Chinese participants is identical to the one administered to their British counterparts. The decision to use the same questionnaire for both British and Chinese participants, instead of translating the questionnaire into Chinese for the latter, was made in order to avoid potential variations on the results caused by the translation of the questions. In the same vein, having all participants answer the questionnaire in English minimised the risk of distortion in translating the participants' responses from Chinese into English. Allowing the Chinese participants to comment on the English subtitles of the selected films involves assessment from viewers who have access to both original soundtrack and the subtitles, which would certainly affect their evaluation on the subtitles provided. The comparison of their comments with those of the viewers who have to rely on English subtitles is expected to yield valuable results. In addition, an increasing number of people in China have some knowledge of English, particularly those who have an interest in international culture. Selecting the representative samples as those native Chinese speakers with some knowledge of English made the setting of the experimental research closer to the reality.

Apart from these criteria, efforts were made to mitigate influence from the participants' social factors and hence the credibility of the data. As the main purpose of the present study was to investigate audience reception through subtitles, British viewers form the original choice of participants, while Chinese participants were selected to resemble them in terms of age, gender, occupation and educational level. Both groups comprise six females and six males. Even samples of respondents (socially, educationally and gender wise) were selected for balance, as this study did

not intended to highlight gender differences, but to consider differences between Chinese and British viewers. Both groups include participants from a diverse landscape in terms of age group, ranging from 18 to 60. Both groups include professionals and students from different educational levels. Unemployed and retired people were not excluded from the recruitment. The similarities in the demographic information between Chinese and British participants enhance the reliability of the data in the sense that different understandings between the two groups are more likely caused by the English subtitles or their cultural identity as Chinese or British, rather than the differences in their age, gender, or education levels.

#### **4.4.3 Experimental procedure**

Prior to the empirical test, a pilot study was conducted with two of the researcher's lecturers in order to ensure the validity of the questionnaire design. Although they are not native speakers, their professions qualify them as sample respondents. Saldanha and O'Brien (2014: 153) have warned that the design of a questionnaire risks jeopardising the entire research project if it fails to address the research questions. They suggest that the pre-selecting of texts for empirical test and interpretation of data can suffer from subjectivity on the part of the researcher, such as from the researcher's cultural background. The pilot study, although small in size, mitigated the influence from the researcher's own cultural background as a Chinese-native speaker and helped to design the questions that could focus on the aspects that most likely to cause difficulties in British viewers' reception.

The screening of the selected film sequences and the execution of the questionnaire were carried out with both multiple and individual participants. Two

specific dates were set to screen the excerpts. These dates were published in emails, on Facebook, posters and other recruiting channels. Eight British and six Chinese viewers responded to the call for participants and attended the screening on these two dates. Individual participants who responded to this call at a later stage attended the screening on different dates. Individual participants were recruited until a sufficient number of questionnaires were filled out. Two incomplete questionnaires from the group of British participants were considered as invalid. All together, fourteen British viewers and twelve Chinese viewers participated in this research project.

Lecture rooms at the University of Roehampton were used to screen the excerpts. The clips were saved on the researcher's student account under the N drive and played through the university's computer, which connects to a projector. The researcher was present during the completion of the questionnaire in order to reduce the possibility of abandonment of the questionnaire. Ethical approval had been secured prior to beginning the study. All participants were informed that they would be participating in research on their comprehension of subtitled Chinese films which would last around 45 minutes. Detailed information about the research project was provided in the consent form, which contains a brief description of the research project, information on the time required to complete the questionnaire, what the participants are expected to watch, the storage of data, their right to withdraw from the research, the contact details for the researcher and the researcher's institution. The participants were assured that their data would be kept confidentially and anonymously. A consent form was provided to each participant prior to watching the sequences. Each participant had signed the consent form prior to participating in the research.

The sample clips, which were used to test the viewers' responses, were identified from the films under investigation (see Section 1.3). One sample clip was selected from each film. Each sequence lasts for about four minutes. A video camera was used to capture the selected clips as the DVDs played through a PC. The existing subtitles in these clips, published on DVD, are used in the present study to establish whether the information conveyed in the ST has been retrieved and retained by viewers. According to the timing code on the DVDs, the start and finish times of the sequences studied are as follows:

*Red Sorghum*, from 00:00:56 to 00:04:57;

*Ju Dou*, from 00:28:37 to 00:32:30;

*Raise the Red Lantern*, from 00:10:37 to 00:14:08.

The Chinese dialogues and corresponding English subtitles used in the present study for the audience response test are marked with an asterisk (at the beginning and at the end) in Appendices 1-3. The copyright issue for recording a short clip to conduct the present research is covered in the ethical application. However, this does not allow me to provide these film clips alongside this thesis. Therefore, a link on YouTube of each of the three films has been provided for the sake of transparency and readability. It must be noted, however, that the English subtitles produced for these YouTube videos are substantially different to those on the DVD versions.

There were alternative excerpts that could have been chosen as sample film sequences. The criteria for selecting the film sequences lay in their representativeness of major features of the whole films and their significance in cultural representation. As mentioned earlier (in Section 4.3.1), three types of CSRs (terms of address, rhetorical questions and family traditions) were identified as the

most prominent cultural features in all three films, based on an initial analysis of the source dialogues and the English subtitles of the selected films. The three film clips were selected because they feature a high concentration of the CSRs that are under investigation and are therefore pertinent to the argument set out in this research. The assumption was that these three film sequences, which contain a significant range of CSRs that are not known to the target culture, would be most likely to cause difficulty in viewers' understanding.

Other characteristics, such as whether the narrative is, to a certain extent, self-contained/autonomous within the sequence, were also taken into account in the process of selecting appropriate segments. The three film sequences were chosen also because they allow participants to follow the plot even if only one segment of the film was shown. Moreover, whether the cultural representation in the sequence involves a certain degree of self-orientalisation was used as an additional selection criterion. Attention was paid to the excerpts where Chinese identity might be exaggerated, or particularly visible to non-Chinese eyes. Film reviews and views of critics, e.g. Cardullo (2015), Chen (1997), Edwards (2013), have been actively used for the interpretation or categorisations of texts as self-orientalising.

As far as audience responses were concerned, the advantage of choosing clips based on the selection criteria lies in that it is an efficient way of yielding results regarding participants' comprehension of the CSRs under investigation and, thus, addresses the research questions raised. On the other hand, the disadvantage of choosing clips based on particular criteria is that it discards participants' responses to questions regarding CSRs that are presented in other parts of the films, such as those that concern register, dialect and orality. Furthermore, just as criticisms have been made against the representativeness of samples in experimental research in general

(Coolican, 2004; Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014), the selection of these clips might have been biased by my tendency to choose samples that would illustrate my argument and discard those which would refute it. The sampling size in the present study was too small to address this issue. The limitation of this on the impact of the results regarding audiences' responses is addressed in Section 7.3.

At the beginning of the survey, participants were first presented with a series of background questions covering demographics (Q1-Q10). They were given five minutes to respond to these questions. Subsequently, the selected film sequences were played for the participants one after another. An average of one minute was given for each question in the second part of the questionnaire, that is, five minutes for each set of questions corresponding to the first and third film sequences (Q11-Q15 and Q23-Q27) and seven minutes for the questions (Q16-Q22) that related to the second film sequence. Written descriptions of the selected sequences were presented to each subject in the questionnaire. Prior to watching each excerpt, the participants were given two minutes to read these descriptions, which provided an overall impression of each film's plot, before starting to interpret the subtitles in the selected sequences. Upon completing the questions in the first and second part of the questionnaire, participants were given another five minutes to answer the last part of the questionnaire (Q28-Q33), to fill out their contact information and to complete their answers to the questions in the first two parts, if needed.

Each participant went through the same five steps during the test: a) sign a consent form; b) answer questions about personal details in the questionnaire; c) read the brief introduction to each film, watch the clips and answer the relevant questions at the end of each single clip; d) comment on the quality of the subtitles in the three films; e) provide contact details in case further information is needed, although it is

not required. The data collected from this part of empirical study was analysed and interpreted separately, and then merged with the analytical findings that were obtained from the first part of textual analysis. Although there was statistic software available, the data collected through questionnaire was analysed manually in view of the small sample of respondents. More importantly, this choice was made in line with the aim of the empirical test, which was to see whether reliable evidence can be obtained to corroborate the findings developed in the textual analysis. Therefore, the analysis of the data is more interpretative rather than statistical. Manual analysis better serves this purpose.

#### **4.5 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Section 4.4 presented the process of data collection and the practical considerations during the empirical test of audience reception through questionnaire. Based on that, this section explains the procedures that were developed for the analysis of the data generated in the questionnaire. In order to answer the questions of “how” (British and Chinese audiences respectively understand the selected film sequences) and “to what extent” (the subtitles have achieved the intended effect of facilitating audience comprehension), different methods were applied to interpret quantitative and qualitative data separately.

In presenting the analysis of the questionnaire, the participants’ names were replaced by codes to remain anonymous. The twelve British participants’ names are represented by the codes GB1 to GB12; and the codes CH1 to CH12 stand for the twelve Chinese participants. The procedures of data analysis and interpretation in this research have drawn upon both Desilla (2012) and Yuan (2010). In order to



examine audiences' comprehension of implicatures in film dialogue, Desilla (2012) conducted a questionnaire to investigate the comprehension of implicatures in two Bridget Jones films by British and Greek audiences. As the questionnaire in her design only includes open-ended questions, the data collected was audiences' individual interpretations of the implicatures in the film dialogue. In order to compare the understanding between British and Greek audiences and to interpret the data collected, Desilla devised a scale to measure audiences' comprehension. In her scale, 0 to 4 points were awarded to each participant in view of his/her degree of comprehension, from "no understanding" to "thorough understanding". Each respondent's understanding of the implicatures in the selected films was quantified in accordance with this scale. According to Desilla (2012), the final score of participants reflected their levels of comprehension and, thus, was used as a means to evaluate and compare British and Greek audiences' interpretations.

Compared with Desilla, who tended to quantify audiences' comprehension, Yuan (2010) applied a more interpretive approach in her analysis of audience responses to the representation of face management in subtitling. Yuan (2010) devised a questionnaire to elicit six British and six Chinese viewers' general impressions of the sequences that were selected from Chinese films with English subtitles and English films with Chinese subtitles. This was followed by an in-depth interview, aiming to obtain more information on participants' independent views on the face management features in the selected film sequences. Open-ended questions were used in both questionnaire and interview, which provide the participants maximum independence to express their thoughts (Yuan, 2010: 104). The data obtained consisted of individual audiences' views and interpretations. In her thesis, Yuan provided a detailed description and analysis of each film sequence and

individual audiences' responses to it.

In the questionnaire of this study, altogether seventeen questions were asked about the participants' understanding of the three film sequences, which include six open-ended questions and eleven closed-ended questions. Drawing on both Desilla (2012) and Yuan (2010), the present study devised a three-stage method of data analysis. Firstly, this research analysed the data collected through the closed-ended questions of the questionnaire (see the analysis in Section 6.2). Similar to Desilla's (2012) research design, British and Chinese participants' comprehension of CSRs in the selected film sequences were measured and quantified. The key difference is that the evaluating system was only applied to closed-ended questions in this research, and not to the open-ended questions. As open-ended questions in the questionnaire designed for this research investigate British and Chinese viewers' understanding of the characteristics of the interlocutors in the selected films and the relationship between the characters, it is almost impossible to measure their interpretations. In addition, the boundaries between "thorough understanding" and "partial understanding" in Desilla's scale can be hard to determine when applied to evaluate audiences' individual interpretations. Thus, the scoring system in this research was only applied to interpret the data collected from closed-ended questions.

In this research design, the participants were either awarded 4 points or not (0 points) for their responses to each instance of a CSR, no points in between were given. My attempt to characterise possible interpretive acts is deeply indebted to the work of Desilla, who, herself, has profited much from empirical reception studies. The scoring system in the present study was adapted from the scale for measuring implicature comprehension presented in Desilla's work (2014). There are two types of closed-ended questions: the questions that probe audiences' understanding of a

specific CSR and those follow-up questions that ask audiences how they made their decisions (e.g. based on their assumptions, based on their understanding of the subtitles, images and soundtrack, or based on their existing knowledge of Chinese culture). For the analysis of the closed-ended questions, four points were awarded for the selection of the presumed intended interpretation of the CSRs in the dialogue or for the decisions that were made based on subtitles; no points were awarded when there was no answer or when inaccurate selection was provided. Each participant's overall score was added. In this way, each participant's responses to the closed-ended questions in the questionnaire can be measured and quantified. Thus, the overall comprehension between the two audience-groups can be compared and different participants' responses to each closed-ended question can be cross-examined.

In the evaluation of audiences' responses to the closed-ended questions, points were awarded to the answer that *presumably* to be the intended interpretation of the film dialogue. The present research acknowledges the subjectivity and diversity in viewers' interpretation of a film. In Fish's (1980: 16) words, "there is no single way of reading [a film or a text] that is correct or natural, only 'ways of reading'" depending on the perspectives of reading. The discussion of the themes of the selected films in Chapter 1 and the textual analysis in Chapter 5 were intended to reflect the preferred/dominant reading of the film dialogue, namely, "how the filmmakers intend the audience to understand the utterance" (Desilla, 2014: 5). My decision on the intended interpretation in the present study also relied on the consensus detected in film reviews and views of critics that were scattered across Section 1.3.1 and Section 3.4. Referring to the film reviews and views of critics boosted the reliability of the intuitive analysis so that the interpretation of the film narrative is not the analyst's personal bias. For instance, Q16 queries what the colour

red symbolises in the film *Ju Dou*. While the colour red could symbolise any of the options listed, i.e. passionate sex, rebellion against the feudal system, and birth of a new life, four points were awarded to the second option, which was believed to be the intended interpretation of the colour scheme in this film (see film introduction in Section 1.3). What's more important, the point-awarding system in the present study did not distinguish "accurate" interpretations from "inaccurate" ones, but was only used as a means to reflect the differences/similarities in the comprehension of CSRs between the groups of Chinese and British viewers and between individuals. The importance of the results lies in raising an awareness of what need to be included in subtitling. The data collected on audiences' responses to each instance of CSRs helps to identify the places where subtitler's involvement might be needed to guide the audiences.

The second stage of the data analysis was to provide insight into audiences' responses to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire. For analysing the open-ended questions, the present study had drawn from Yuan (2010) and provided a breakdown analysis of each film sequence and participants' responses to each instance of the CSRs contained. Section 6.3 to 6.5 presented the analysis of audiences' individual interpretations to each of the specific CSR in the selected film sequences. Therefore, it was able to reveal not only to what extent the British and Chinese audiences understand the CSRs in the selected films, but also how they understand them (the differences and similarities), which addressed the third research question set out at the beginning of this research. The data of British viewers' overall evaluation of the English subtitles in the three film excerpts and their preferences of Chinese film subtitling were dealt with separately in a section that follows.

The third stage of the data analysis was to compare the data obtained through questionnaire with the findings of the first part, the textual analysis, in order to see if the findings confirm or disconfirm each other. In the textual analysis, a hypothesis was made on the effect that the translation approaches and strategies employed in the subtitling of the selected films may have on audience reception. This was compared with the data generated in the questionnaire on audiences' actual responses to the CSRs in the film dialogue. The results of the questionnaire complemented this research by providing (or refuting) empirical support to the analytical findings on the basis of textual comparison. The following two chapters (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) respectively provide analysis based on the comparison of STs and TTs in the selected films and analysis of the data generated in the empirical study. Employing two research methods and triangulating the results with different forms of data aims to improve the credibility and reliability of this research, and to compensate for the relatively small number of participants in the audience response test.

At this point, the main difficulties and limitations of the empirical research have to be addressed. To begin with, the main difficulty in conducting the experiment came from designing a questionnaire that “asks for the minimum of information required for the research purpose” whilst maintaining efficiency (Coolican, 2004: 136). Both open-ended and closed-ended questions have their pros and cons. While closed-ended questions would make numerical comparison relatively easy, they are not efficient in probing viewers' subjective understandings. Thus, it was inappropriate to present the participants with a ready-made list of possible interpretations for them to choose from. On the other hand, open-ended questions deliver richer information and the respondent does not feel frustrated by the constraint imposed with a fixed choice answer (Coolican, 2004: 137). However,

they are difficult to code and quantify. The decision to include both types of questions in the questionnaire was based on careful considerations of the research purpose and research questions.

Secondly, during the close reading of the audiovisual texts, great challenges arose in determining the intended interpretation of a film utterance. There were cases in which it was extremely difficult to assign a score for participants' responses. As in the example given with regard to Q16, it was almost impossible to determine what the colour red symbolises in the film *Ju Dou* as there were multiple answers. Whereas there is no 'correct' or 'real' interpretation of a film, there has to be a point-awarding answer to each question in order to quantify viewers' comprehension, so that their understanding of the film can be compared. In this case, four points were awarded to the second option—in this film, the colour red symbolises 'rebellion against the feudal system'. As argued above, this decision was made based on the analysis of the themes of this film in combination with the consensus detected in film reviews (see the analysis in Section 1.3.1).

## Chapter 5

### The Translation of Chinese Culture in Film Subtitles:

#### A Case Study of the English Subtitles of Zhang Yimou's Films

##### 5.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 speculated on the British public's expectations of Chinese films and Chinese culture based on a review of the major trends in the history of Chinese to English translation. It proposed to consider Chinese to English translation through the vantage point of Orientalism. The cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema is discussed within the discourse of Orientalism and exoticism. The present research argues that the legacy of Orientalism has contextualised British viewers' expectations of China and Chinese culture and that the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers is a negotiation between their horizon of expectations and their perceptions through subtitles.

Placing Chinese film translation in a socio-historical context, this chapter conducts an in-depth case study on the subtitling of three of Zhang Yimou's films *Red Sorghum* (1987), *Ju Dou* (1990) and *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992), following the methodology proposed (see Chapter 4). It offers a close textual analysis of the Chinese source texts and the English subtitles in the selected films, aiming to investigate whether or not the cultural features in the original Chinese dialogues have been rendered into English subtitles in a way that meets the British viewers' expectations and that facilitates their comprehension of the selected films. This chapter directly addresses the first research question: how is Chinese culture

represented in Chinese films, especially in the Fifth-Generation cinema, and how is this culture mediated through English subtitles.

In this chapter, the translation of three types of CSRs is examined in three respective sections. These are, firstly, the emphasis that all the selected films place on terms of address including personal titles and personal names; secondly, the presence of certain culturally charged rhetorical features of the Chinese language, such as the use of rhetorical questions to express politeness; and, thirdly, the importance of Confucian values that relate to sexuality and family traditions. The organisation of this chapter draws on the work of Mona Baker (1992/2011). It starts by the meaning of individual words and expressions in translation and develops, in terms of complexity, by widening its focus to the translation of whole sentences and texts. The investigation into the translation of sentences looks at the different degrees of politeness expressed through rhetorical questions and statements, while the last section of this chapter deals with the translation of Confucian moral codes that relate to sexuality and family traditions at the textual level. These three aspects cover cultural transfer at lexical, syntactic and textual/ideological levels. As argued in Chapter 4 (in Section 4.3.1), these three types of CSRs are present in all three films and are most likely to cause obstacles in audience reception. The analysis of the translation of these three types of CSRs helps to form hypothesis of audience reception of the selected Chinese films.

This chapter, first of all, identifies the differences between the Chinese source texts and the English subtitles regarding the representation of cultural values. Then, it analyses the translation approaches and strategies (based on the taxonomies in Chapter 4) that have been adopted in dealing with the CSRs in each instance. Through the analysis, this chapter attempts to detect whether there are tendencies,



recurrent patterns or “norms” (Toury, 1995/2012) in subtitling Chinese films, which have informed the present discussion on the horizon of expectations of British audiences. While Toury’s study of norms focuses on providing explanations of translators’ choices, the present study is rather concerned with the effect that these choices (the shifts translators made, the strategies they employed and the norms they adhered to) have on audiences’ reception of Chinese films and of the Chinese culture conveyed in them.

In each section, tables are created whenever necessary in order to facilitate textual comparison and analysis. Each table contains three columns. The left column presents the original Chinese dialogues in *Pinyin*, following the guidelines of a standard Chinese dictionary (Chinese Converter, online<sup>3</sup>). In this way, Chinese characters are transcribed using letters of the Roman alphabet for the sake of readability by those who cannot read Chinese. The column in the middle is the literal translation of the source dialogue, which will allow readers who do not understand Chinese to follow the argumentation and appreciate the nuances of the source text. The column on the right presents the English subtitles of the corresponding Chinese dialogues. The subtitles have been transcribed verbatim from the DVD versions. Grammatical or spelling mistakes, punctuations and line breaks in the subtitles are preserved in the examples in order to reflect the reality of the subtitles in these films. Both source and target texts are numbered following the order that each subtitle appears on the screen. A full transcription of dialogues and subtitles in each film is attached at the end of the thesis as Appendices 1-3.

This chapter is based on textual analysis, while the next chapter tests the effect of the English subtitles on British viewers’ comprehension by means of

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<sup>3</sup> Chinese Converter. <https://www.chineseconverter.com/en/convert/chinese-to-pinyin> [accessed on 16th Jul. 2017].

empirical research. Through a questionnaire given to both Chinese and British respondents, Chapter 6 will examine whether the conclusions of Chapter 5 go in the same direction as those of the empirical research findings. While this research expects that there should not be significant discrepancies between the findings of the two types of research, any surprises should point at the necessity of future research on translation strategies, the translation of culture and AVT reception studies.

## **5.2 Translating Power and Solidarity through Terms of Address**

According to Friederike Braun (1988: 7), terms of address refer to the terms that denote “a speaker’s linguistic reference to his/her collocutors”. In one of the earliest studies on Chinese terms of address, Yuenren Chao (1956) defines terms of address as both vocatives and designatives. According to him (1956: 217), vocatives are “the terms of direct address to call persons by”, while designatives are the mentioning terms, “which one uses as part of connected discourse in speaking of persons”. Compared with Chao’s (1956), Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen’s (2003: 1) definition of terms of address, which originated from their study on European languages, is restricted to “words and linguistic expressions that speakers use to appeal directly to their addressees”, in other words, vocatives.

Most of the subsequent research on Chinese terms of address, e.g. Zequan Liu (2008) and Chunli Yang (2010), has adopted Chao’s definition. Liu (2008) explores the translation of Chinese terms of address in the English versions of *Hong Lou Meng*, a Chinese novel written by Cao Xueqin in 1791. He favours a general heading for terms of address (including both vocatives and designatives) in the study of the Chinese address system, with which Yang (2010) agrees. According to Liu

(2008: 529), terms of address “function more as markers of Chinese politeness than pure vocatives”. The interlocutors have to exploit appropriate terms of address throughout the verbal exchange. In the selected Chinese films, terms of address have also marked the cultural values in Chinese society and functioned as more than vocatives. In examining the translation of these terms of address, the present study has also followed Chao’s (1956) definition of terms of address, which include both vocatives and designatives.

In most languages, terms of address take the form of pronouns, nouns and verbs (Braun, 1988; Jucker & Taavitsainen, 2003). Among these, nouns of address comprise the most diverse types. Braun (1988: 9-10) lists nine types of frequently used nominal terms of address, which include: names, kinship terms (for blood relations and relatives by marriage), general forms (e.g. Mr/Mrs in English), titles (e.g. doctor, Count or Duke), abstract nouns (e.g. Your Grace, Your Honour), occupational terms (e.g. waiter), words for certain types of relationship (e.g. “friend” in Turkish), terms of endearment and forms of address expressing the addressee’s relation to another person (e.g. “father or Ali” in Arabic). Braun’s classification of nominal terms of address has the advantage of being thorough, although his characterisation of titles overlaps with the description of occupational terms; for instance, the term “doctor” can be both.

One of the publications that has attracted the most attention in dealing with terms of address is the work of Roger Brown and Albert Gilman (1960). In *The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity* (1960), they introduced the convention that governs the usage of pronouns of address, namely, power semantics (superiors vs. inferiors) and solidarity semantics (intimacy vs. formality). According to them (1960: 254-262), power is a nonreciprocal relationship between at least two persons, which

prescribes the usage of pronouns of address between superior and inferior, while solidarity introduces a means of differentiating address derived from intimacy or formality among power equals. Although Brown and Gilman's work originated from the different forms of pronominal address, the relationship of power and solidarity between the speaker and the addressee also operates in the usage of other forms of address, such as nominal terms of address discussed in the present study (Ervin-Tripp, 1971; Braun, 1988).

The power relationship between the speaker and the addressee and the formality of the situation are culture-bound. On the one hand, the criteria that govern the choice of terms of address differs according to languages and cultures. What is considered to be an appropriate situation for using a term of address may be seen as an inappropriate one in a different culture. A case in point is that addressing people with their first names by someone younger is common in the UK, while it is likely to be considered as insulting or lacking good manners in Chinese culture.

On the other hand, differences in the address systems indicate norms and values in each respective culture. In their research on pronominal address, Brown and Gilman (1960) suggest that terms of address reflect the social structure in a society. According to them (1960: 265-271), the nonreciprocal power semantic is associated with a relatively static society or a feudal system in which individuals are prescribed with unique power ranks, as opposed to the solidarity semantic, which is tied to the development of societies with an egalitarian ideology. Following their thoughts, in a society like feudal China where status is ascribed to individuals based on their origins, a finely graded address system that mirrors the strict social stratification is more likely to be found.

In addition to the power relationship and the degree of intimacy between the

speaker and the addressee, other factors, such as the cultural context of the addressing behaviour and the politeness or deference that the speaker wants to extend (the intention of the addressing behaviour), also influence the selection of terms of address by the speaker (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Jucker & Taavitsainen, 2003). These are all factors that have to be taken into account when translating terms of address between two different cultures. In the films selected for analysis, the translation of terms of address, especially titles and personal names, is particularly important since they are the ones that most express hierarchies and relations of intimacy or power in Chinese culture. An inappropriate translation of terms of address is likely to cause misunderstanding and misinterpretation regarding interpersonal relationships between interlocutors as expressed in the source texts.

Moreover, Brown and Gilman (1960: 272) point out that “there is covariation between characteristics of language performance and characteristics of the performers”. The interpretation of the linguistic styles makes the language behaviour “functionally expressive” (1960: 272). In other words, terms of address indicate the interpersonal relationship of the interlocutors as well as their identity, gender, age, education, social status in a speech community and so on (Braun, 1988; Liu, 2008; Yang, 2010). The terms of address that are used in the selected Chinese films convey the manner of speaking of the characters concerned. Therefore, an investigation into the translation of terms of address can also help British audiences better understand the characteristics of the interlocutors in the films and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

Terms of address can be treated in a number of ways in translation: they can be imported unchanged from the SL text, they can be modified to fit the phonological/semantic system of the TL, or they can be expanded to provide the

knowledge the TL reader lacks in the target culture. Subtitlers have to consider the context given by the cultural product, such as whether translating the meaning of a term of address may be essential. There are also subtitling conventions to consider, e.g. the time and space constraints underpin subtitling. This research suggests that the choice between the various alternatives will finally be determined by pragmatic factors, the most important among which is the translator's assessment of the intended audiences. Based on this understanding, the present section explores the transfer of the power relationship and solidarity, and the transfer of cultural nuances in the translation of terms of address, especially in the translation of personal titles and personal names. The analysis will particularly focus on the effect that the translation may have on British viewers' perceptions of the selected Chinese films.

### **5.2.1 Translating power and solidarity through personal titles**

This subsection seeks to find out how terms of address, especially personal titles, have been translated in the English subtitles of the selected films. Close observation reveals that personal titles in the selected Chinese films have been frequently used to designate and refer to each other. According to Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory mentioned earlier, this probably pertains to the dimension of strict social hierarchy in traditional Chinese culture. Careful examination of the source dialogues and their English subtitles identifies two features of the translation of titles in the selected films. Firstly, the different connotations of the terms of address in source dialogues and English subtitles reveal that source texts mark a clearer hierarchical function than the English subtitles. Secondly, personal titles seem to be used more often in the Chinese source texts than in English subtitles. These features are going to be illustrated with examples from the three selected films.

In the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, the term *taitai* is used to designate or refer to the wives/mistresses of the head of the household in the original Chinese dialogue. In Chinese, *taitai* is a common way of denoting either one's own or another person's spouse. A married woman is generally addressed with her husband's surname + *taitai*, equivalent to the English address term Mrs. + surname. While a man in feudal China was only allowed to have one wife, he was allowed to have concubines, which were referred to as *yi taitai*. In the selected film, there is more than one concubine. Thus, they are addressed or referred to in numbers, such as *er taitai* (second mistress), *san taitai* (third mistress) and *si taitai* (fourth mistress). While there is a term "concubine" for the concept of *yi taitai*, there is no term of address available in English. Therefore, a lexical gap exists between the source and target languages. In the selected films, the way that the subtitler tackles the lexical gap is to domesticise this Chinese term of address and translate it into terms that are more familiar to the target audiences: Mistress or Madam. The present study argues that because *taitai/yi taitai* and Mistress/Madam are not equivalent concepts, erroneous perceptions of the relationships between the interlocutors and of the film may be caused.

Concubinage was a common method of expanding a family in traditional Chinese society (Engel, 1984: 956). As upper class men could spend money on purchasing concubines, concubines were taken whenever a family could financially afford it. According to the *Xinhua Dictionary of Chinese* (online), *yi taitai* is a term of address for "a man's concubine in traditional China, normally used by servants from a lower social class to the Master's concubines". *Yi taitai* denotes a legal relationship with the man. It is different from the European concept of a "Mistress", which implies that the woman that has a predominantly sexual relationship with a married man based on the definition offered in *Oxford Dictionary of English* (ODE)

(2015: online). While the social status of *yi taitai* is accepted by the family and the public, the relationship between a mistress and her man is normally unofficial and cannot be known or accepted by the public. A ceremony of marriage is usually held to welcome *yi taitai* to the family, which is presented in the film *Raise the Red Lantern* as an important scene, whereas a mistress is not usually “known” or not “welcomed” by the family. In this respect, *yi taitai* and Mistress are not equivalent concepts.

The connotation of *yi taitai* is also different from that of “Madam”, which is simply a polite or respectful way to address or refer to a woman (ODE, 2015: online). Whereas the term “Madam” shows similar respect as the term *yi taitai*, the implications of the term of address *yi taitai*, namely, “married to the man and thus entitled with certain privileges, but having a lower position than the wife”, are lost in the translation. Pedersen (2007) argues that when a CSR is well known to the ST’s original audience, but not the TT audience, it is necessary for the subtitler to intervene in order to help the TT audience to access the CSR. In this case, a strategy, namely, substitution as defined in Pedersen’s taxonomy, has been adopted (see the analysis in Section 4.3.3). The term of address that carries social values of the source culture is replaced by terms that are more familiar in the target culture. A pragmatic translation into its simple deictic equivalent seems to be adopted. As was mentioned earlier, terms of address indicate hierarchical relationships among the speakers, and express social identity. By translating *taimai* as Mistress/Madam, the interpersonal functional component that marks the social hierarchy in the original source text is irreparably changed.

In the same vein, *laoye*, “old master” is used to address or refer to the male head of the household in the film. It is an exclusive term of respect for men



“belonging to the privileged classes in China, namely, big landlords, feudal bureaucrats and bureaucratic compradors” (who depend on their government jobs to set up their own enterprises and industries) (Fang & Heng, 1983: 501). In the English subtitles of this film, “Master” and “Mister” are used interchangeably by the same interlocutor as translations of *laoye*. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2015: online), a Master is “a man who has people working for him, especially servants or slaves; or a man in charge of an organisation or group, e.g. the head of a college or school, the captain of a merchant ship, the presiding officer of a livery company or Masonic lodge”. It partly conveys the meaning of *laoye* as “a male head of a household”. However, the connotations conveyed through *laoye* and Master are different since the addressees of these terms are different. The addressees of *laoye* are the privileged classes in China while the addressees of Master are more general, simply “a man who has people working for him”.

On the other hand, Mister is known as “a variant form of Mr and often used humorously or with offensive emphasis, e.g. look here, mister know-all” (*ODE*, 2015: online). As argued by Brown and Gilman (1960), the style of speaking helps to identify the characteristics of the performers. However, the identification of style requires some constancy in one’s speech. Swaying back and forth from Master to Mister in the English subtitles makes it difficult for the viewers to define the characteristics of the speaker and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and therefore impairs their comprehension of the film.

The second feature revealed from the comparison of the source texts and English subtitles in this film is that titles are more often used in Chinese dialogues than in English subtitles. Taking the term *taitai* as an example, of the 139 times that *da/er/san/si taitai* is used in the source text, 32 have been omitted in the English

subtitles, and eleven have been replaced by pronouns, while ten of them have been paraphrased according to the individual context. All the Chinese dialogues that include the term of address *taitai* have been listed in a separate table for the sake of transparency, which is attached in Appendix 4 (Table 1). The corresponding English subtitles and the translation strategies used are also presented in the table. Similarly, ten out of 71 occurrences of *laoye* in the source text have been omitted in the English subtitles. Eight of them have been replaced by pronouns and four have been translated as “Mister”. The Chinese dialogues that include the term of address *laoye*, the corresponding English subtitles and the translation strategies are listed in Table 2 of Appendix 4. As Yang (2010: 83) has suggested, addressing somebody by their social title shows them respect. Although omission is sometimes unavoidable in subtitling due to temporal and spatial constraints, largely omitting the terms of address or replacing them with pronouns alters the indication of social hierarchy as expressed in the source text.

Table 5.2.1, from the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, lists all the terms of address employed in the scene of Songlian’s (the leading female character) wedding night. It starts with Master Chen entering the bride’s room. Audiences can hear the voice of the servants who congratulate him on his marriage. The bride, Songlian, is sitting on a bed in the middle of the room. The wedding night continues until it is interrupted by the knock of a servant who asks the Master to visit the Third Mistress who claims to be sick. The scene ends when the Master leaves to go to the Third Mistress’s court.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
31. Servants: Gongxi <b>laoye</b> ,	Congratulations, Master! Congratulate	Congratulations

Gongxi <b>laoye</b> daxi	Master's great day!	mister It is a big day for you
46. Servant A: <b>San taitai</b> bing le, qing <b>laoye</b> qu	The Third Mistress is sick, she asks Master to visit her.	The Third Madam is sick and she asks for you....
48. Servant A: <b>San taitai</b> de de shi jibing, feiyao nin qu ma	The Third Mistress has got acute disease, she insists on your visit.	It's urgent and she wants no one but you
50. Servant A: <b>San taitai</b> yaoshi you ge sanchangliangduan, women dandai buqi	If something serious happened to the Third Mistress, we are afraid we cannot take responsibility.	If something serious happens to her we'll be blamed
53. Housekeeper: <b>Laoye</b> zoule, <b>laoye</b> jin sanyuan?	The Master is leaving. Is the Master going to the third court?	Is the Master leaving for the third Mistress? <sup>4</sup>

Table 5.2.1 Terms of address from *Raise the Red Lantern*

The terms of address *laoye* and *taimai* both appear more than once in the Chinese dialogues of this scene. As illustrated in Table 5.2.1, appropriate terms of address which designate the social status are kept in the Chinese dialogues no matter how many times the person is mentioned. In English subtitles, apart from keeping one translation of “Master” in subtitle 53, the term of address *laoye* is either replaced by a pronoun or omitted in subtitles 31, 46 and 53. The term *taimai* is replaced by a third person pronoun “she” or “her” in subtitles 48 and 50 and is translated as

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<sup>4</sup> Note: The DVD subtitles have been transcribed verbatim. The researcher is aware that there are punctuation, spelling and grammatical errors, as well as bad line breaks in the English subtitles, e.g. there is no punctuation and no capital for ‘Mister’ in the original subtitle 31.

“Madam” in subtitle 46. According to Brown and Gilman’s (1960) theory about social structure, the rigid use of the nonreciprocal terms of address may indicate a more strict social hierarchy in Chinese society.

As illustrated in the tables attached in Appendix 4, the same trend of omission and replacement can be found throughout the film. Even if there is enough time and space to include the terms of address, professional subtitling norms seem to encourage loss of pragmatic equivalence. This is probably due to the habitual use of English or the nature of AVT, which often assumes that the visual images and soundtrack could compensate for the loss in the subtitles (see the argument in Section 4.3.3). In their theory of politeness, Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987: 62) suggest that nominal terms of address, such as titles, often constitute forms of positive politeness, the use of which enhances social standing and signals different classes. The asymmetric use of terms of address in the Chinese dialogues of this film reflects the power differential between the speaker and the addressee, and mirrors the complex social attitudes of the characters towards each other as well as the levels of distance versus intimacy. Omitting and substituting nominal terms of address with pronouns in English subtitles reduces the social values carried by the terms of address and, thus, may cause a different comprehension of the cultural specificity represented in the source texts, especially the power relationship and the solidarity between the speaker and the addressee.

The terms “Mistress” and “Master” also appear as the English translation of *zhang gui de* in the film *Red Sorghum*. *Zhang gui de* literally means “shopkeeper” or “storekeeper”. This term is employed by the winery workers to designate Jiuer, the leading female character in the film. When Jiuer decides to take over the winery after her husband’s death, the first thing she asks is to be addressed by her first name. *Red*

*Sorghum* is a film that depicts China's vital power during the Anti-Japanese War. Instead of doing this by offering a conventional eulogy of the Communist leadership during that time, it resorts to the narration of a love-and-death story between the female protagonist Jiuer and her lover, according to Chen (1997: 129). In this regard, asking the winery workers to address her by her first name suggests that Jiuer actively claims to be treated as equal to them. Table 5.2.2 presents the Chinese dialogues with a literal translation and the English subtitles in this scene.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
172. Jiuer: Wanghou bie zai han wo <b>zhang</b> <b>gui de</b> . Wo ye shi qiong ren jia de	172. From now on, don't call me the shopkeeper. I'm from a poor family too.	172. Don't call me Mistress
173. Zan zhe shaojiuguo shang mei da xiao	173. We don't have superiority or inferiority in the winery.	173. I'm from a poor family too. We're all equals
174. Wo zai jia pai hang lao jiu, shi jiuyue chujia nian shengde	174. I am the ninth child in my family, born on the ninth of the ninth month.	174. I'm the ninth child, and I was born on the ninth of the ninth month
175. Renjia dou jiao wo <b>Jiuer</b> Nimen ye jiao wo <b>Jiuer</b> ba	175. Others call me Little Nine. You can call me Little Nine too.	175. Everyone calls me Little Nine. You can too
176. Winery Workers: <b>Jiuer</b>	176. Little Nine.	176. Little Nine
177. <b>Jiuer</b>	177. Little Nine.	177. Little Nine

178. Luohan:  <b>Zhang gui de</b> , jiner ge shi bu shi ba zhe yuanzi shoushi	178. Shopkeeper, shall we clean the courtyard today?	178. Mistress, let's clean the courtyard
179. Zhe houyuan yuanxian dahuo bu gan jin pa ran shang bing, zanmen ye qingxi qingxi	179. We were scared of going to the backyard before. We were afraid of catching a disease. Let's clean it.	179. We didn't dare go in before, we were afraid of getting ill
180. Wanghou, ni jiushi dangjia de le, ni jiu fenfu ba	180. From now on, you are the boss, you can give us orders.	180. Now you're the boss, give us your orders
181. Winery workers:  Shiya, ni fenfu ba  Fenfu ba, <b>Jiuer</b>	181. Yes, give us orders.  Give us orders, Little Nine.	181. Yes, give us your orders

Table 5.2.2 Terms of address from *Red Sorghum*

As argued by Ronald Wardhaugh and Janet Fuller (2015: 268), addressing a person by their titles alone is the least intimate form of address as titles “designate ranks or occupations and are devoid of any personal content”, while “knowing or using another’s first name is a sign of considerable intimacy or at least of a desire for such intimacy”. In the above scene, Jiuer is at first addressed or referred to using her title *zhang gui de* (shopkeeper) by the winery workers. This term of address designates ranks between the two and resists personal contact. Asking the winery workers to call her by a nickname (“Little Nine”) shows an even greater intimacy and an initiation of equality. In the English subtitles, the term *zhang gui de* is translated as Mistress, a term stressing her sexual relationship with the Master. This

translation significantly changes the bearing of the cultural specificity in the source text. More importantly, the indicated change of interpersonal relationships from “shopkeeper” to first name is clearly different from “Mistress” to first name. The character’s intention to become more intimate and equal with the winery workers by asking them to address her by her first name is not reflected in the English subtitles. Thus, the desire to eliminate social hierarchy, which is an important political code of this film according to Chen (1997: 129), is not reflected in the English subtitles. A different comprehension of the film by the British viewers is likely to be generated.

While the social terms of address in *Raise the Red Lantern* and *Red Sorghum* are used to show respect and politeness by the speaker, they are employed in *Ju Dou* for an entirely different purpose. In the film, the term *lao dongxi* (lit. old thing) is used by Judou to designate or refer to her husband Jinshan behind his back, while the term *laozi* (lit. father) is frequently used by Jinshan to refer to himself. By designating or referring to a human being as a *dongxi* (thing), the implication of the insult of the term *lao dongxi* (lit. old thing) is self-explanatory. On the other hand, in Chinese, *laozi* can refer to the kinship relationship (“father”) or be used by a speaker when addressing non-relatives, simply to express authority over the addressee. It is apparent that the use of this term of address in the context of this film is the latter case. The contrasting usage of terms of address *lao dongxi* versus *laozi* shows the conflict between Jinshan and Judou. Therefore, the translation of these terms of address is crucial for understanding the interpersonal relationship between them. In addition, there are norms in the target language that need to be considered. Individuals rarely use nominal terms of address to refer to themselves in English, except for the King/Queen. This raises a problem of translating *laozi* into English subtitles.

Table 5.2.3 lists all the usages of *lao dongxi* by Judou to address Jinshan on various occasions. As this term appears in different scenes, some context has been added before each interlocution.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
Context: Judou informs Tianqing that she is being abused by her husband.		
107. Judou:  Jiu rang <b>lao dongxi</b> sha le wo ba  ni bie lan ta	Let the old thing kill me.  Don't stop him.	Let him do it.  Don't try to stop him.
112.  <b>Lao dongxi</b> ta you bing, ta buxing,  ta jiu wang si li zhe teng wo	The old thing has a disease,  he's impotent, so he tortures  me to death.	He has a disease.  He's impotent, so he tortures me.
Context: Judou has sex with Tianqing for the first time when her husband is away.		
124. Judou:  <b>Lao dongxi</b> bu zai le, ni hai pa  shenme	The old thing has left, what  are you afraid of?	With the old man away  you have nothing to fear.
132.  Bie ti ta, rang <b>lao dongxi</b> si qu	Don't mention him, let the  old thing die.	Don't even say his name,  wish he were dead.
Context: Tianqing suspects it was Judou who killed Jinshan. Judou tells Tianqing that when she found Jinshan, he was already dead.		
304. Judou:  Wo gang jin yuaner de shihou, <b>lao dongxi</b> jiu zai chizi li pao zhe ne	When I entered the yard,  the old thing was already  lying in the pond.	When I got back,  he was lying face down in the  pond.
317. Tianqing:  <b>Lao dongxi</b> ta bugai si a	Didn't the old thing deserve	Didn't he deserve to die?



	to die?	
Context: In order to avoid gossip from the villagers, Tianqing has to move out from the dyeing factory.		
370. Judou :  Zi da <b>lao dongxi</b> si le yihou,  371.  zan pa ren jia shuo xian hua, ni  dou zai wai mian zhu le qi ba nian  le,	Since the old thing died,-  -we are afraid of gossip,  you have been living  outside for 7 or 8 years,	For 7 years, since the bastard died,-  -have you stayed away to avoid gossip.

Table 5.2.3 Use of the term of address *lao dongxi* by Judou<sup>5</sup>

While Judou always designates or refers to Jinshan as *lao dongxi*, Jinshan refers to himself as Judou's *laozi* (lit. father). However, there is no kinship relationship between them. This term of address has been used by Jinshan to show his authority and superiority over Judou. The usage of the term of address *laozi* in the sexual abuse scene is a case in point. Table 5.2.4 lists the dialogue in this scene with literal translation and corresponding English subtitles.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
59. Jinshan:  <b>Laozi</b> hua qian le, de ting  <b>laozi</b> de  60.  Mai tou shengkou yao qi yao	59.  Father spent the money, so  you have to listen to Father.  60.  If I buy a beast, I can ride it	59.  I paid for you, so follow orders.  60.  If I buy a beast, I can ride it

<sup>5</sup> Note: There is a grammatical error in subtitle 371. The correct sentence should be “you have stayed away to avoid gossip”. The second half of the sentence is translated into a question in the subtitle while the whole sentence is a statement. A faithful transcription of the subtitle in the DVD version is kept in Table 5.2.3.

da sui <b>laozi</b> gaoxing	or beat it at Father's pleasure.	or beat it at my pleasure.
61.	61.	61.
Ni suan ge shenme? Yi yang!	You are what? The same! Is	Do you think you are any different?
Zhe shutan ma?	this comfortable?	

Table 5.2.4 Term of address *laozi* used by Jinshan

As displayed in Table 5.2.3, while *lao dongxi* is translated as “old man” in subtitle 124 and “bastard” in subtitle 370, the rest of the occurrences of this word have all been replaced by the third person pronouns “he” or “him”. Similarly, the term *laozi* has been replaced by the first person pronoun “I” in both subtitle 59 and 60 as illustrated in Table 5.2.4. In addition to the overall tendency of replacing the term of address by a pronoun, the choice of replacing *laozi* by the first person pronoun in the subtitle may also be caused by the convention of not using nominal terms of address to address oneself in English. The subtitler here seems to opt for a domestication approach presumably to cater for the target audience's expectations. As a result, the sharp contrasting usages of terms of address by Judou and Jinshan, insult versus superiority, are not kept in the English subtitles. In subtitling this film, omissions or replacements with pronouns have often been adopted when there is a lexical gap between the Chinese and the English address systems. It seems that subtitlers prefer a domesticating approach in dealing with the CSRs in the selected films. A similar trend has been found throughout the three films. Thus, the conclusion at this stage is that due to these translation choices, the culture features of social hierarchy, the power relationship and the solidarity between interlocutors in the source texts are reduced in the English subtitles.

### 5.2.2 Translating cultural nuance through proper names

The second type of terms of address that this section is concerned with is personal names, which are used to designate specific characters in the selected films. Proper names refer to words for the designation of specific objects, e.g. specific people, places and institutions and so on (Sciarone, 1967: 81). Personal names are one type of proper names. The primary function of proper names is that they are used as linguistic signs to identify entities. A proper name singles out a unique object or class of objects in the act of communication. In this sense, Theo Hermans (1988: 11) suggests that proper names, pointing directly to a single, concrete referent, “possess a certain deictic quality”. The translation of a proper name, does not only involve the translation of the name itself, but also the transfer of connotations evoked by a name in one language and culture into another (Leppihalme, 1997: 79).

In his study of translating proper names in the novels *De Witte* (1920) and *Max Havelaar* (1860), Hermans (1988) divides proper names into two categories, namely, conventional names and loaded names. Conventional names are those that are seen as “unmotivated” and have no “meaning” in and of themselves. The latter are those literary names that are seen as “motivated”, which include “both fictional and non-fictional names around which certain historical or cultural associations have accrued in the context of a particular culture” (1988: 13). The primary problematic nature of a proper name stems from its potential to acquire a semantic load, which takes it beyond the function of signification and into a more general sphere of the common noun. Hermans (1988: 12) argues that proper names “occupy an exceptional position with regard to the language system because of their minimal integration into it”. By that, he means that proper names are language-specific. They stand out in semantic terms and “resist the integration into paradigmatic series”

(1988: 12). Thus, translating proper names constitutes one of the common translation challenges in all language pairs.

Based on this, Hermans (1988: 13) lists four ways of transferring proper names from one language into another. They are: a) to copy or reproduce proper names in the TT exactly as they were in the ST; b) to transcribe, transliterate or adapt proper names in the ST on the level of spelling, phonology, etc.; c) to substitute any given name that is formally unrelated in the ST; d) to translate the proper name in a ST that is enmeshed in the lexicon of that language and acquires meaning. Although labelled differently, Leppihalme's (1997) strategies for the translation of allusive proper names, namely, retention, replacement and omission, are similar to Hermans's (see Chapter 4). Hermans argues that in the act of translation, the choice made between the various means mentioned above is subjected to translation norms. The manner in which the translator handles proper names provides valuable clues to the overall orientation of the translation. An examination of the proper names in a translated text helps to formulate the initial hypothesis regarding translation norms underlying the target text.

Having considered the general means of proper name transfers, the remainder of this section tackles the issue of personal name transfer from Chinese into English in particular. It discusses the application of each choice in combination with specific examples from the selected films. As far as personal names are concerned, the option (a) to reproduce or copy is extremely common when the translation is between two close languages, e.g. French and English. Simply transferring across languages helps to maintain a certain aura of the original tongue and its culture. However, due to the different writing/alphabetical systems that are used for Chinese and English (characters vs. letters), this is not an option for the translation of personal names. In

view of this, Zhihong Kang (2001) discusses three cross-language treatments of names between Chinese and other languages, which are phonetic transcription, semantic translation or deliberate renaming. The first two are roughly equal to “transcribe” (b) and “translate” (d) in Hermans’s terms, while renaming is to “translate” to some degree, according to Hermans’s division, as it does involve the action of “translating”.

Kang (2001: 144) argues that, if translation were seen as a process of rendering the semantic content conveyed in the SL into the TL, it would seem natural that only when the meaning of a particular SL name is available can this name be transferred into the TL. However, in translation practice, text-to-text correspondence is only applicable to a limited extent to the cross-language treatment of human names. This is due to the fact that it is not necessary to translate the surface lexical meanings of most human names into a TL; neither is it necessary for the translator to trace the names in question back to their etymology. Therefore, most human names are not translatable semantically, as lexical meanings are not easily accountable or plain enough to be interpreted semantically. This is more apparent in the translation of names between languages of disparate cultural and linguistic lineages, such as the translation between Chinese and English (Tsai, 2014: 65). This raises great challenges in translating Chinese names into English.

The typical Chinese name, like the typical English name, consists of three parts (Zhu & Millward, 1987: 8). Whereas an English name usually consists of given name + middle name + surname, the typical Chinese name consists of surname + generation name + given name in that order. These three parts normally comprise three syllables and three characters. Some people have a two-syllable (and two-character) surname or a two-syllable given name; others have no generation name.

As in European traditions, the Chinese surname is normally used to identify the father's family. Given names are usually chosen by parents. Parents choose names for the lexical meanings, which express their aspirations for their children. In a tribe or a large family, the ancestors would select a few words (characters) based on their auspicious or favourable meanings as generation names, e.g. *mei* (beauty), *zheng* (uprightness), *zhong* (loyalty). Each subsequent generation would then be assigned one character as their generation name. All members of the same generation share the same generation name, such as Tianbai and Tianqing in the film *Ju Dou*, with "Tian" as their generation name. Chinese has a complex system of showing family relationships through its generation names (Zhu & Millward, 1987: 11). In China, the appropriate forms of address are determined not only by the age of the interlocutors, but also by their generations within a family. For instance, it is quite common for a couple to give birth to several children and for their grandchildren to be older than their youngest child. However, in this circumstance, the grandchildren still have to refer the youngest child as "uncle" or "aunt", even if the grandchildren are older.

Most names in Chinese literature and films are translated into English by means of phonic transcription using *Pinyin*, option (b) in Hermans's terms. In the English subtitles of the selected films, transliteration has been adopted to transcribe all characters' names except on two occasions, which will be discussed later. Transliterating names using *Pinyin* makes Chinese names available in an alphabetical order and hence suitable for indexing purposes. However, as Kang (2001: 145) has argued, "phonetic transcription can tell TL speakers virtually nothing meaningful about the SL name but the mere phonetic resemblance". Nancy Tsai (2014: 65) voices a similar view by stating that a name is not "a mere lexical item functioning as a referent". Most Chinese names retain lexical meaning in the selected

films. Applying a phonetic transcription to translated names reduces a target audience's chances to fully understand the message evoked by the names. Indeed, as audiences' responses to the questionnaire in this research will show, British viewers did show difficulty in understanding passages where the characters' names were transcribed (see the analysis in Chapter 6). It is in this sense that Kang (2001) advocates a bearer-based treatment of names. He suggests that:

[T]here are two ways to treat human and place names in a cross-language context, either SL name-based or bearer-based. In the former case, morphological elements of the SL name, e.g. its surface lexical meaning or pronunciation are made use of in an attempt to recreate a new set of name-referent relationship in the TL. For this reason, semantic translation and phonetic transliteration are in essence acts of borrowing since they result in TL names which are based on their SL counterparts morphologically at either semantic or phonetic level.

(Kang, 2001: 151)

Kang (2001: 151) argues that the central issue in cross-language treatment of names is not how a given name in the SL should be translated or transferred in the TL, but rather how the bearer of an SL name (e.g. the person or the place) can be effectively referred to in the TL context. As long as the latter function is fulfilled, transliteration is not necessarily better than other options, e.g. renaming. In the same vein, Saleh Delforouz Abdolmaleki (2012: 833) stresses that the focus of translation is on the message conveyed as a whole in the phrases rather than on a given human name. Both of them highlight the importance of delivering the content or connotations of a

name in translation, which cannot be achieved through phonetic transcription.

In the selected films, names of characters depict a character's social class, level of literacy, religion and so on. In the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, the Fourth Mistress is called Songlian. *Song* means "to praise"; *lian* is "lotus". In Chinese, lotus is usually associated with purity and elegance, as in Zhou Dunyi's (1017-1073) argumentative prose *On the Love of Lotus* during the Song Dynasty (960-1279), which describes the lotus as "growing out of the mud untainted, rising above the clear ripples of water with an unaffected grace" (my translation). Thus, a possible meaning of the name Songlian is "to praise purity or stainlessness". On the other hand, the Second Mistress's name is Zhuoyun. *Zhuo* means "excellent, erecting or outstanding" and *yun* is "cloud". In the Chinese imaginary, these words may be associated with "lofty" or "holier-than-thou". In the film, she despises the Third Mistress, who is an opera singer, an inferior profession in feudal China, and flatters Songlian as she is an educated student. The characteristics portrayed in the film coincide with the connotation of her name. The Third Mistress is named Meishan. *Mei* is "plum blossom" and *shan* is usually used to describe a lady's manner of walking in a leisurely way. Considering her background as an opera singer, this name conveys a vivid portrait of her image.

Personal names in the other two films also retain lexical meanings. These names perform a function of characterisation. They invite audiences' expectations of the personality of the bearer of that name. Names provide a description of the referent. They evoke certain connotations in addition to referring to the specific person or the object. Leppihalme (1997) argues that it is reasonable to retain the names unchanged when they are familiar to the target readership. The retention of an unfamiliar name as such is a valid choice when "the context can be thought to offer



sufficient clues”, or “the loss caused by the unfamiliarity is deemed not serious” (1997: 91). Clearly, neither of them is the case in the film *Raise the Red Lantern*. Retention or transliteration through *Pinyin* system of the interlocutors’ names prevents British audiences from understanding the connotations of the names and accessing the characteristics of the interlocutors.

The tradition of transliteration may be explained “by the wish to keep the nominal function simple to transmit the nationality of the character and to avoid excessive expressive colouring” (Abdolmaleki, 2012: 836). Nevertheless, transliterating names of characters in the selected films deprives a foreign reader of “nuances and vividness of a description” (Abdolmaleki, 2012: 835). The connotative meaning of the Chinese names and the cultural values carried in them are not conveyed in the English subtitles. Tsai (2014) questions the tradition of transliteration in transferring Chinese names. She argues that the assumption that transliteration allows letters and sounds to be directly transcribed or accurately converted from one language to another with little or no ambiguity is based on a generalisation of translation within ‘the top ten’ source and target languages such as English, French, German, Spanish, etc. An examination of the translation of Chinese names into English will suggest otherwise. She even states that what is often articulated and argued in the name of ‘accuracy’ or ‘objectivity’ is, in fact, “a manifestation of ethnocentrism facilitated by the ideology of translation” which is presented as an “interest-free cultural communication” (Tsai, 2014: 63). She maintains that the transliteration leads to loss in understanding the ideology behind the choice of names, while an authentic representation of what is “Chinese” is not necessarily produced. When it comes to the translation of personal names into English, the traditional norm of transliteration is not a perfect solution. In most

instances, the cultural markers are sacrificed in the subtitles, which functions perfectly well in translation between English and French, for example, because the cultures are close to each other. However, in translation between Chinese and English, culture should be prominent among the criterion to be considered when reducing the text. In line with this argument, the present study proposes to take the effect on audiences' comprehension as the primary concern when translating personal names into English. Thus, a more flexible approach can be adopted depending on the cultural and aesthetic expectations of audiences.

While personal names are transliterated in the selected films most of time, there are two instances when the character's name is translated semantically. Table 5.2.5 illustrates the naming practice from the film *Ju Dou*:

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
152. Yang A: “Tian” zi bei mei sheng xia jige hao zian de	152. There aren't any good portents in “Tian” generation.	152. There aren't any good portents for the boy.
153. Tianqing: Xian xiang yige ba	153. Make one up then.	153. Make one up then.
154. Yang B: Fang pi	154. Nonsense!	154. Nonsense!
155. Zhe shi zuzong chuan xia lai de	155. This is handed down through generations.	155. Our art has been handed down through the generations.
156. Ni bi zuzong de xuewen hai da	156. Do you have more erudition than ancestors?	156. Are you wiser than our ancestors?

157. Yangjia jiu zhe yige houren qushang waizi zan yangjia fengshui jiu wanle	157. The Yang family only has this one descendant, a cursed sign and the fengshui of our Yang family will be ruined.	157. He's the sole Yang descendant, a cursed sign and our family is ruined.
158. Yang Tianbai Yang Tianqing Qingbai, qingqing baibai	158. Yang Tianbai Yang Tianqing Green and white, be pure in mind and body.	158. Tianbai sky white. Tianqing sky green.
159. Zhe shi “Tian” zibei li zuihao de liangge zi le	159. These are the best two characters for the names, which the generation name is “Tian”.	159. These two names fit together perfectly for this generation of Yang family.

Table 5.2.5 Translating personal names in the film *Ju Dou*

As displayed in Table 5.2.5, after a long search in the family book of names, Judou's newborn son is named Tianbai (Skywhite). The elders believe that *qing* (green) and *bai* (white) are “the best two characters for the names whose generation name is Tian” as it is stated in ST 159. The reason for this is because, on the one hand, *qing* and *bai* both refer to colours. On the other hand, these two characters placed together form the word 青白 (*qing bai*), which is pronounced in the same way as the word 清白 (*qing bai*), which means “innocent from any guilt”. Thus, Tianbai is considered as a good name for the newborn baby. Although these reasons are not clearly stated in the source texts, they are clear for the Chinese audiences who can easily understand phonological and metaphoric connections. Considering the fact that Judou is having an affair with Tianqing and Tianbai is actually Tianqing's son, a

strong sense of irony is established thanks to the contradiction between the meaning of the name, “innocent from any guilt” and the supposed guilt involved in the way the new-born was conceived. The irony cannot be captured by British audiences if the homophone is not translated.

The rich cultural connotations behind the homophone pose great challenges to the translator. Jing He (2010) investigates the translation of English and Chinese puns from the perspective of relevance theory and argues that the double meanings of puns are “the combined effect of phonological and semantic features, which can hardly be kept in translation” (2010: 83). Even if the humorous element that is typical of puns is absent on this occasion, using the literature on puns in this particular case is still valid. Translating the homophone between such different linguistic systems as Chinese and English is more difficult as there may not be the same mechanisms to create the homophone in the target language or the translation may not express the same meaning as in the source text. This properly explains the subtitler’s choice for a semantic rendition of the names in translating ST 158 into English. In the English subtitle, Tianbai and Tianqing have been translated as “skywhite” and “skygreen”. In this case, the subtitler has sought a “formal” rather than a “dynamic” equivalence, using Nida’s (1964: 159) terms. A rhythm has been created through literal translation as they both share the same component “sky”, *Tian* in Chinese. However, the irony, which has been established through the homophone in the source text, is lost in translation.

In ST 158, the irony increases when the elders stress the connotative meaning of the name using the idiom 清清白白 (*qingqingbaibai*) “be pure in mind and body”. This idiom, which is presumably exotic to the target audience, is absolutely omitted in the English subtitle. As such, the British audiences are by no means able to get the

irony established in the source text without direct access to the Chinese language. Therefore, different perceptions of the film might occur between British and Chinese audiences due to the omission in translation and the strategies that the subtitler adopted in translating names.

A homophone is also employed in the case of Jiuer's name in the film *Red Sorghum*, which is translated semantically as Little Nine (see Table 5.2.2). The number *jiu* (nine) is homophonic to *jiu* (wine). As the background of the story is set in a winery and the wine production plays an important role in the plot development, it is clear that this construction takes the emphasis away from the author. In translating it into English, the subtitler opts for a semantic translation at the expense of maintaining the phonetic resemblance in the source text. As Kang (2001) suggests, when the translator is dealing with the bearer of a given SL name rather than the SL name itself, the act of renaming a person may create translation equivalence. Nevertheless, renaming is not commonly used in translating personal names, which may explain the choice of the semantic translation in the film. In the case of this film, neither semantic translation nor phonetic transliteration seems to be able to create the equivalent effect on audiences. Conversely, opting for any of these choices would result in a variation on audience perception. For this kind of situation, there is probably no perfect one-size-fits-all solution. The best strategy depends on each individual instance. However, as argued before, culture is definitely one of the important criteria for translators when making decisions and they should always take audience reception into account.

To summarise Section 5.2.1 and Section 5.2.2, the use of terms of address and proper names in the chosen source texts is culture-bound. Terms of address embody the socio-cultural values of speech communities that use them, while proper

names convey the characteristics of the interlocutors in the selected films. Analysis of the translation of personal titles in the selected films reveals a trend of omission, replacement and paraphrasing. When translating personal names, transliteration has been used on most occasions. Comparison of the original Chinese dialogues and English subtitles suggests that the transliteration of personal names tends to reduce a TT reader's chances of fully comprehending the connotations of the characters' names. In the rare cases that proper names are translated semantically, connotations of the homophones that were used in the original Chinese text were not translated in the English subtitles. Overall, the subtitlers seem to favour a domesticating approach, which "ensure[s] easy readability" or simplicity at the expense of the cultural values carried in the source text (Venuti, 1995b: 1). This research suggests the general approach of domestication and the translation strategies adopted in subtitling the selected films have a semantic, emotional and aesthetic impact on the characteristics of the speakers and "the power relationship and the solidarity" between the speaker and addressee as perceived by British viewers.

### **5.3 Translating Politeness through Rhetorical Questions**

Section 5.2 explored how the translation of terms of address can influence the comprehension of cultural values as represented in the selected films through terms of address. In addition to terms of address, syntactic patterns in the source texts may also have culture-specific meaning. This section takes the example of rhetorical questions as a remarkable syntactic pattern in the selected films, and argues that they constitute *indirect* expressions of disagreement, criticism, contempt or ridicule and, thus, are more polite than these *direct* statements of these emotions or attitudes. A tendency to transform rhetorical questions into statements can be found in the

English subtitles of all three selected films. Reconstruction of rhetorical questions in English subtitles changes the degree of politeness as expressed in the source texts. Therefore, British audiences' comprehension of Chinese films and culture, especially their comprehension of the degree of politeness as represented in the selected films, differs from that of Chinese audiences, who have direct access to the original Chinese dialogues.

In their theory of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987) distinguish between positive and negative politeness. They (1987: 101) define positive politeness as redressive actions directed to the addressee's perennial desire that his/her wants should be thought as desirable, e.g. the speaker admits that his/her own wants are in some respects similar to the addressee's wants and thus the addressee's desire is partially satisfied. This action is qualified as a successful redress of positive politeness. Conversely, negative politeness is essentially avoidance-based. It refers to redressive actions addressed to the addressee's want to have his/her "freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 129). In other words, negative politeness minimises the particular imposition caused unavoidably by face-threatening acts (e.g. the expressions of disagreement, criticism, contempt or ridicule, etc. in the selected films). For instance, instead of directly rejecting the addressee's suggestions, the speaker asks if there are other available options. Based on these definitions, Brown and Levinson introduce various linguistic strategies to realise these two types of politeness in actual communication.

The linguistic realisations of negative politeness include conventional indirectness, hedges on illocutionary force, politeness pessimism and so on (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 129). Among these, conventional indirectness is particularly relevant to the present study as it is frequently used in the dialogues of the selected

films. In this strategy, a speaker gives the addressee an “out” by being indirect, permits him/her to feel that his/her response is not coerced. At the same time, the speaker has the desire to go “on record” (the intention to express commitments to a particular intent unambiguously). The meanings of phrases and sentences used in this strategy are in fact “contextually unambiguous” by virtue of conventionalisation (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 132). In this way, the utterance goes on record, and the speaker indicates his/her desire to convey the same thing indirectly. Conventional indirectness “encodes the clash of wants” and achieves a compromise between the two (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 132).

Indirect speech acts, e.g. rhetorical questions, are the most significant form of conventional indirectness. Viviane Alleton (1988: 278) defines rhetorical questions as constructions that are used “when addressing questions that have assertive value, to other people or to an opponent speaker”. Rhetorical questions have the structure of a question but they neither seek information nor elicit an answer like regular questions. On the one hand, instead of telling people what to do or what the fact is, rhetorical questions provide a hint to “what a speaker wants or means to communicate, without doing so directly, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable” (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 69). It gives the addressee options, in particular the option of not feeling directly rejected. To give the addressee such an option or at least to pretend to leave him/her an option is an instance of negative politeness because it pays token respect to the addressee’s desire to be free from impositions.

On the other hand, according to Hannah Rohde (2006: 135), when using rhetorical questions, the speaker assumes that participants share a prior commitment to a similar or obvious answer. The common ground between the speaker and the



addressee determines whether the implicit meaning of a rhetorical question is successfully understood by both parties. This “common ground” is also named the “felicity condition” by Brown and Levinson, who define it as the condition that “must be met by aspects of the communicative event in order for a particular speech act to come off as intended” (1987: 132). As both the speaker and the addressee are assumed to share the common ground or felicity condition, the answers to rhetorical questions are, in the speaker’s mind, “either perfectly obvious or perfectly obviously unknowable” (Banuazizi & Creswell, 1999: 10). Under normal circumstances, rhetorical questions are not understood as questions by both the speaker and the addressee as the answers to rhetorical questions are unambiguous for all participants. There is no longer a variable alternative interpretation of the utterance except in very special circumstances. In this sense, Rohde (2006: 135) classifies rhetorical questions as “redundant interrogatives”.

In Chinese, *fanwenju* is used as a technical term that is roughly equivalent to “rhetorical questions”. *Fanwenju* is *fanwen* + *ju* (sentence). *Fan* means “turn over, in an opposition direction, in reverse, etc.” and *wen* is “to ask” or “to question” (Alleton, 1988: 281). It is an interrogative form with assertive meaning and inversion of a negation. In Chinese, *fanwenju* has two types of markers in terms of medium used: intonation patterns in the spoken form and the use of specific adverbs (e.g. *nandao* ‘hard to say’) in the written form (*ibid*). There are other types of rhetorical questions which are marked by syntactic features, such as the position of the negation. For instance, the word-to-word translation of the sentence *Wo bu jiu yao zou le ma?* is ‘I not just about leave *le ma?*’. This sentence does not make sense unless it is interpreted as a rhetorical question, which can be expressed as the following: ‘Am I not just on the point of leaving?’.

The use of *fanwenju* or rhetorical questions in conversation characterises Chinese politeness when expressing disagreement, criticism, contempt or ridicule and other strong emotions or attitudes. The use of rhetorical questions in Zhang Yimou's films carries cultural values regarding the Chinese way of expressing politeness. On the one hand, the syntactic form of being a question retains the indirectness of the expression. Disagreement, criticism and other negative attitudes are conveyed in a more subtle way. Rhetorical questions leave some space for the addressee to interpret, instead of being disapproved of or criticised directly. As such, the speaker preserves relative politeness in the expression of negative emotions, which helps to maintain the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the addressee. On the other hand, rhetorical questions have the semantic value of a declaration (Sadock, 1971). The answer to a rhetorical question is unambiguous. By asking a question to which the answer is obvious, the intended meaning is highlighted. The speaker seeks to obtain acknowledgement from the addressee, while avoiding expressing the answer directly. In this regard, rhetorical questions are exploited as a means of conveying politeness in the original Chinese dialogues.

Careful examination of the translation of rhetorical questions in the selected films shows that a large portion (more than one third) of rhetorical questions in the source texts are transformed into statements in the English subtitles in all three films. The statistical numbers related to this transfer in each film are illustrated in the table below. It can be seen from the Table 5.3.1 that the number of rhetorical questions that are translated into statements in the English subtitles are as follows: 27 out of 44 (*Raise the Red Lantern*); 11 out of 28 (*Red Sorghum*); and 16 out of 45 (*Ju Dou*). It means that 64%, 39% and 36% of rhetorical questions in these films are transferred into statements respectively. All rhetorical questions in the Chinese dialogues and

their corresponding English subtitles have been underlined in the Appendices 1-3. The subtitles in which the transfer from rhetorical questions to statements occurs are double underlined in order to distinguish them from those in which this transfer does not occur.

Name of films	Number of rhetorical questions	Number of rhetorical questions transferred being into statements	Percentage of rhetorical questions being transferred into statements
<i>Red Sorghum</i>	28	11	39%
<i>Ju Dou</i>	45	16	36%
<i>Raise the Red Lantern</i>	44	28	64%

Table 5.3.1 Use of rhetorical questions in each film

The table above clearly shows a tendency in all three films to reconstruct rhetorical questions in the source texts as statements. This might have to do with the differences between Chinese and English in both linguistic and cultures. In a paper contrasting the expository discourse patterns between English and Asian languages, English is described as more direct and deductive than Asian languages. John Hinds (1987) finds that English writers assume the responsibility to make clear and precise statements, whereas in Chinese, writers often use indirect strategies, leaving interpretations up to the readers. Empirical studies also reveal a more marked preference for rhetorical features by the writers and readers of Chinese than those of English (Kubota & Lehner, 2004). In addition, the syntactic structure of statements is easier to visualise for audiences than the structure of rhetorical questions. Thus, the shift from rhetorical questions to statements in subtitles meets British audiences'

expectations of English texts pertaining to their reading habits and their expectations of subtitles given the nature of the medium.

However, as argued above, rhetorical questions in the source texts are linguistic realisations of negative politeness. They express emotions and attitudes, such as disagreement, criticism, contempt or ridicule, without directly threatening the addressee's face, and therefore conveys forms of politeness in the original Chinese texts. Transferring the rhetorical questions into statements in the English subtitles has an inevitable impact on the degree of politeness as expressed in the source texts. This is going to be illustrated through a comparison of rhetorical questions and their English subtitles in the selected films. Table 5.3.2 provides examples of rhetorical questions in the film *Ju Dou*.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
Context: One of Jinshan's customers says that Tianqing is like his son.		
54. Jinshan: Er zi, pi hua, ta shenshang you wode xue a?	54. A son? Nonsense, does he have my blood in him?	54. A son? He doesn't have my blood in him.
55. Ta die niang si hou, bushi wo kanzai linju de fenshang shouyahng le ta, ta neng huo dao jintian?	55. Since his parents died, if it wasn't me who adopted him for the neighbour's sake, can he survive till today?	55. I only took him in when his parents died, because of the neighbours' gossip.

Table 5.3.2 Use of rhetorical questions in *Ju Dou*

In Table 5.3.2, the rhetorical question is used to express Jinshan's strong disagreement with what the customer has said to him, which is "Tianqing is like his

son”. In the source text, Jinshan replies with “Does he have my blood in him?”. As argued above, the rhetorical question shows the speaker’s intention to be indirect by providing the addressee an option (to say no) in this context. The form of question shows the intention of the speaker to save the addressee from feeling directly disapproved of and thus to be more polite. The addressee would not feel imposed or coerced, as they would with a direct disagreement, because he has been provided an option with a question. On the other hand, the answer to this rhetorical question is unambiguous. A common ground has been assumed when Jinshan raises the following question: “does he have my blood in him?”. By using a rhetorical question, the semantic value of what has been asked is stressed by Jinshan, which in this case is the fact that Tianqing does not have his blood. The rhetorical question performs the function of highlighting the shared answer and synchronising the beliefs of speaker and addressee. In this particular case, it even associates with an application of reproach by Jinshan, which means “since the fact that Tianqing does not have my blood is so obvious, how could you say that?”.

In this film, expressing disagreement through rhetorical questions is exploited as a recurrent strategy of negative politeness. However, in the English subtitles, the rhetorical questions have been transferred into statements, which leads to a variation in the degree of politeness expressed in the target texts. In translating the rhetorical questions in this film, a strategy of clarification has often been adopted. According to Antoine Berman (2012: 245), clarification explicates something “that is not apparent, but concealed or repressed in the original texts”. Clarification produces texts that are readable, rid of clumsiness and complexity to enhance the meaning, at the expense of the original (Berman, 2012: 246). While the purpose of this strategy is to make the target text explicit, which is the same as Pedersen’s strategy of

explication (see Section 4.3.3 for definition), clarification is a more suitable term here as it focuses on the clarity at the syntactic level. Through clarification, the subtitler seems to have adopted a domestication approach in rendering these rhetorical questions. A more direct and clarified statement has been used in the English subtitles, which caters for target audiences' expectations of English texts and the nature of subtitles as a form of translation. In the example of subtitle 54, the meaning of disagreement has been clarified with a negative statement, while the degree of politeness as expressed in the source text has been reduced. The emotional values perceived by British audiences are influenced correspondently.

In the subtitles of *Raise the Red Lantern* and *Red Sorghum*, a similar trend of transferring rhetorical questions into statements can also be found. Table 5.3.3 gives examples from *Raise the Red Lantern* when the rhetorical questions are respectively used by the servant Yaner and the Fourth Mistress, Songlian. The use of rhetorical questions reflects the conflict between Yaner and Songlian: Yaner's contempt for Songlian, who becomes the Fourth Mistress instead of her, and Songlian's criticism of Yaner's neglect of her authority.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
26. Songlian: Zhe wu zi li ganma gua zheme xie hong denglong ya	26. Why hang so many red lanterns in the room?	26. Why hang so many red lanterns inside this quarter?
27. Yaner: Bu shi ni lai le ma	27. Isn't that because you come?	27. They are for you.
388. Songlian: Hao wa, ni gan toutou de dian	388. You dare to light the lanterns	388. How dare you

denglong	secretly	light lanterns inside your room!
389.	389.	389.
Zhe denglong shi ni yige yahuan	Can these lanterns be lit by a	Lanterns aren't for servant to
suibian dian de ma?	servant casually? Do you	enjoy
Fu shang de gui ju ni zhi bu	know the rules of the family	you are fully aware of the rules
zhidao?	or not?	here
390.	390.	390.
Ni hai xiang bu xiang huo le?	Do you still want to live or	I suppose you don't care
	not?	what could happen to you

Table 5.3.3 Use of rhetorical questions in *Raise the Red Lantern*

Table 5.3.3 lists the conversation when Songlian first arrives at the Chen family. She asks Yaner what the red lanterns are for, as in ST 26. Yaner replies with a rhetorical question, as in ST 27. Yaner is a servant dreaming of becoming a mistress while Songlian is the new mistress. In the film, Yaner satirises Songlian, pries into her conversations with the Master, curses her behind her back. It is also Yaner who exposes Songlian's fake pregnancy to the Second Mistress. Her resentment of Songlian is obvious in the film. Therefore, when Songlian asks her a question as in ST26, she is not willing to answer the question. However, as a servant, she cannot absolutely ignore the Mistress's question or turn her down directly. In this regard, the use of a rhetorical question ("Isn't that because you have come?") can be seen as a compromise between the expected behaviour of a servant to answer the question directly and her intention to express her resentment. A redressive strategy of negative politeness prevents Songlian's authority from being directly challenged, which characterises a Chinese way of expressing disagreement, criticism or contempt. However, this cultural feature has been replaced by a positive statement in the

English subtitles, in which the contradiction between contempt and politeness is by no means shown. Hence, the cultural values carried in the source texts have been significantly reduced in the translation. British viewers' perception of the relationship between Yaner and Songlian may be different to that of Chinese viewers.

At a later stage of the film, Songlian finds Yaner secretly lighting red lanterns in her room and confronts her. The conflict reflected in language is the usage of a series of rhetorical questions, such as in STs 389 and 390 "These lanterns can be lit by a servant casually? Do you know the rules of the family or not?" and "Do you still want to live or not?". Instead of direct face-threatening criticism, Songlian uses several rhetorical questions to convey criticism indirectly. The use of a series of interrogations shows the speaker's coercive power over the addressee indirectly. At the same time, she leaves some space for the addressee to interpret and think, rather than expressing disapproval and threatening her "face" directly, which preserves a Chinese way of politeness. In translating this utterance, clarification has been achieved at the expense of the syntactic patterns in the source texts. The rhetorical questions in the original Chinese dialogues have been transferred into statements in the English subtitles. The degree of politeness exhibited in the English subtitles is certainly less strong than it is expressed in the Chinese original. This does not only influence British audiences' understanding of the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the addressee but also their understanding of the characteristics of the speaker. In this film, Songlian is featured as an educated girl. Even if she is speaking to her servant, she still uses rhetorical questions instead of direct criticism, which characterises her social identity as a traditional and well-educated Chinese woman who tends to express her emotions subtly. These cultural features are lost in translation due to the reconstruction of rhetorical questions as statements in the



English subtitles.

In the film *Red Sorghum*, rhetorical questions are used in the following scene when the male protagonist of the film attempts to enter the owner’s bedroom of the winery. Table 5.3.4 lists the source texts, literal translations and target texts.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
205. Zhanggui de? Shui tama shi zhanggui de?	205. Shopkeeper? Who the hell is the Shopkeeper?	205. - It’s the Mistress’s. - What “Mistress”?
206. Ni shuo de shi tama li da tou a?	206. Are you saying the damn Big Head	206. Damn Big Head Li.
207. Li da tou suan shenme dongxi?	Li? 207. Big Head Li is what kind of thing?	207. He was nothing. I was never scared of him.

Table 5.3.4 Use of rhetorical questions in *Red Sorghum*

The scene unfolds when the narrator’s grandfather comes to the winery, heavily drunk. He tries to go into the shopkeeper Jiuer’s bedroom. Other winery workers tell him that the room is not for him but for the shopkeeper. In the STs 206 and 207, a series of rhetorical questions are used, e.g. “Are you saying the damn Big Head Li?” and “Big Head Li is what kind of thing?”. The narrator’s grandfather’s words convey his contempt for the master of the winery, Big Head Li. The syntactic structure of the rhetorical questions enhances the contempt expressed through the semantic meaning of the texts. In the English subtitles, the rhetorical questions in the source texts are paraphrased and reconstructed as statements. The meaning of the rhetorical questions is clarified, in Berman’s (2012) sense of the term. However, the

contempt is expressed only through the semantic meaning of the subtitles and not the syntactic patterns of the texts. As such, the degree of politeness as expressed in the source texts is different with that in the English subtitles. British audiences' comprehension of the speaker's characteristics, which relies on subtitles, may be different from that of Chinese audiences.

To summarise this section, rhetorical questions have been used in the selected films to express strong emotions and attitudes, such as disagreement, criticism, contempt, ridicule, etc. They have been modified into statements in the English subtitles through the re-construction of syntactic patterns. An overall effect of clarification seems to have been intended. Whether it has been achieved is something that will be tested with the help of the questionnaire. Observation of the subtitles in the selected films reveals that the transfer from rhetorical questions to statements could lead to a loss of negative politeness as delineated in the source texts. It filters out the cultural features of the Chinese politeness as exhibited in the source texts. Therefore, a different comprehension by British viewers of the degree of politeness, the characteristics of the interlocutors and the interpersonal relationship between them may occur. The impact of such differences on British viewers' comprehension of Chinese films and Chinese culture will be tested in the empirical research in the next chapter.

#### **5.4 Translating Confucian Values about Sexuality and Family Traditions**

Sections 5.2 and 5.3 examine the transmission of Chinese culture in the translation of terms of address and rhetorical questions in film subtitles. Culture-specific elements are not limited to lexical terms and syntactic structures, but also

include ideological markers in the films. According to Kishorkumar G. Gaikawad (2014: 55), in Sociolinguistics, ideological markers, manifested in linguistic expressions, are language variations in an interlocution. These variations include those that are related to functional aspects (i.e. styles and registers), to the individual (i.e. idiolects which concern quality of voice, choice of words, language style and sentence order), to regionality (i.e. dialects) and to social factors (i.e. sociolects). In his account, a sociolect “is activated in group-specific contexts” (2014: 58). It is spoken by a particular group, class or subculture, whose determinants include social status and other possible factors, e.g. age, gender, education. Its linguistic expressions comprise terms of address, swearwords, taboo words, idioms, grammatical structures and so on.

The present section focuses on the translation of Confucian values in the selected films with special reference to those that are related to the concepts of sexuality and family traditions. In conducting the research, an analysis of the Chinese dialogues and English subtitles in each film has been carried out. The cultural references with regard to sexuality and family traditions are identified as one of the most salient cultural features in all three films. They contain an abundance of literary and historical references. Most of them rarely have equivalents in English, and thus pose great challenges for the translator who wants to preserve the connotations in the English subtitles. Therefore, they are selected as the object of further study. Taking into account the above-mentioned language variations of the four aspects (due to functional aspects, individual, regional and variation related to social factors), the instantiations detected in the text include cultural-specific taboo words, taboo themes (contraception), terms of address, idioms, euphemisms, grammatical structures etc, the translation of which is discussed in the following two

subsections.

Although culture-specific elements are translated not only through dialogue but also via various visual symbolisms such as colours, gestures and so on, in the English version, subtitling is the primary channel through which all aspects of mediation, semantic and non-semantic, can take place (Delabastita, 1989). Therefore, the investigation of the present section focuses on the representations of cultural specificities in the original Chinese dialogues through subtitles. The transfer of multimodal signs (e.g. visual images and sound, including music and effects) through subtitles is not the focus of the present study. Nevertheless, the multimodal signs are indirectly taken into consideration as they always inform the interpretation of dialogue by both Chinese and non-Chinese audiences.

Confucianism was the state orthodoxy during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) and continued to be so for centuries. For the Chinese feudal society that lasted over two thousand years, Confucianism served as the dominant ideology for interpreting the world and performing rituals related to state and society (Gao & Handley-Schachler, 2003: 45). Patricia L. Hamilton (1999: 126) suggests that the Confucian moral codes, with rigid social constraints regarding class and gender and relatively conservative sexual attitudes, contributed to the stability and order of traditional Chinese society. Although official Confucianism was abolished in the New Culture Movement in the early twentieth century, traditional Confucianism still influences Chinese people's beliefs, their way of life and their views on society and is generally represented as the core value of the national spirit of China (Hu & Ji, 2012: 32). As Simon Gao and Morrison Handley-Schachler (2003: 45) stated, Confucianism's cultural attitude "carries significant implications for the process of conflict resolution among influential, competing interest groups in society". It is

embedded in social structures and individual attitudes as well as in a “state-backed intellectual edifice” (Rozman, 2002: 13).

Confucianism has been codified as an emblem of Chinese culture in translated Chinese texts. This no doubt has an impact on mapping the image of China for Europeans and contemporary Chinese people in their own evaluations of China’s past. The selected films present important Confucian values, the translation of which plays a significant role in determining audiences’ comprehension of these films and of Chinese culture as represented in them. Initial analysis of the English subtitles in the selected films shows consistent omissions, reductions and occasional substitutions and paraphrasing of cultural elements as represented in the original Chinese texts, especially when these elements are related to the concepts of sexuality and family values. Although such strategies are often employed in AVT for technical reasons (Gottlieb, 1998), cultural references are high in the priority scale of elements to be reduced, which emphasises the differences in value systems of Chinese and British cultures and may affect viewers’ interpretation of the interlocutors’ attitudes, characteristics and their interpersonal relationships. Section 5.4 illustrates the effect that this translation approach has on audience perception, through specific examples from the selected films.

#### **5.4.1 Translating sexuality**

Sexuality in translation refers to “the linguistic representations of sexual practices” and addresses the issue of censorship across languages and cultures (von Flotow, 2011: 122). The subject under discussion in the present study includes sexual and sex-related social behaviour, customs, traditions and so on. Under the influence

of Confucian philosophy, Chinese people's attitude towards sexuality is certainly conservative. The linguistic representations of sexuality in the selected films include the expression relating to contraceptive ideas (*Ju Dou*), sexual desire (*Red Sorghum*) and the description of sexual experience (*Raise the Red Lantern*). Luise von Flotow (2011: 124) argues that translations are sensitive to the manifestations of sexuality in different languages, and they exaggerate them or ignore and obscure them. Analysis of the cultural transfer from source dialogues to target texts in the selected films reveals a consistent tendency for omissions and reductions in the English subtitles. The present section explores the rendition of sexuality in English subtitles and the effect of the subtitles on audiences' understanding of these films and Chinese culture.

*Ju Dou* is a brave attempt to break taboos regarding sexuality. It explores the controversial role of traditional sexuality, whereby women are bought like animals. Before the Fifth-Generation, Chinese cinema was primarily a vehicle for political propaganda and ideological indoctrination, in which the representation of sexuality was strictly restricted (Chen, 1997). *Ju Dou* differs from earlier, ideologically centred films in its bold representations of erotic love and sexuality in film. A question therefore arises for audiences who have to rely on subtitles to access the film, regarding their perception of sexual nuances in the film. This shall be explored through the comparison of CSRs referring to the concept of contraception. The following scene unfolds as Tianqing holds Judou in his arms, covered by a blanket while they are both in bed. Their naked upper body implies they have just had sex. Judou tells Tianqing that she has a late period. Table 5.4.1 lists their conversation in this scene along with the literal translation and the English subtitles.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
247. Judou: Ye bu zhi zenme la, zhe hui shenshang laide zheme chi 248. Xia si le, de xiang ge fazi 249. Nun: Gei, fangshi qian waiyong, bao ni busheng 250. Tianqing: Neng xing? 251. Judou: Nigu'an de lao nigu shuo le, yong shibian, zhun xing Tianqing: Judou...	247. I don't know why my period is so late this time. 248. I'm scared. Got to find a way. 249. Here. For external use before sex, guarantee you'll not get pregnant. 250. Will it work? 251. -The old nun in the nunnery said, using it ten times, it would definitely work. -Judou...	247. I don't know what the problem is. My period's late. 248. I'm getting...scared. 249. Take this. Use it before sex. 250. Will it work? 251. She said it would after ten times.

Table 5.4.1 Translating sexuality in *Ju Dou*

When translating Chinese dialogues in this scene, omission and reduction have been largely adopted. This is especially evident in rendering STs 249 and 251. Source dialogue 249, *Fangshi qian waiyong, bao ni bu sheng* (lit. For external use before sex, guarantee you'll not get pregnant), is reduced to "Use it before sex" in the English subtitle. As the term *bu sheng* (not give birth) is present in ST 249, the concept of contraception is quite clear to Chinese audiences. In TT 249, the second half of the sentence is omitted while there is enough time and space for the content. Because of that, the main function of the medicine, which is contraception, is not identified in the English subtitle. As contraception is not such a taboo theme in

British culture, a reasonable assumption is that the subtitler believes this information could be achieved through the image or other modes in the film, which is not the case on this particular occasion. We therefore cannot know what led to that important semantic omission. More solid evidence on the effect that this omission will have on audience reception needs to be obtained through the questionnaire with British viewers.

Similarly, omission and reduction are also applied in rendering ST 251. When Tianqing asks Judou if the contraceptive medicine will work, Judou says *Nigu'an de lao nigu shuo le, yong shi bian, zhun xing* (lit. The old nun in the nunnery says, use it for ten times, definitely work). In traditional Chinese society, when the idea of contraception was a taboo theme and when there was no proper doctor to provide contraceptive pills like in the UK, the nunnery was used as a place to teach women contraceptive knowledge inherited from older generations, to supply contraceptive medicines and to help women with other diseases. Therefore, revealing the identity of the character as a nun in the source text provides Chinese viewers a clue to the idea that was expressed in the film, namely, contraception. However, British viewers cannot establish this association due to the large-scale omission and reduction adopted in the English subtitles. In TT 251, “The old nun in the nunnery” is replaced by a third person pronoun “she” and the target text becomes “She said it would after ten times”. As the term of contraception is not clearly stated anywhere in this film, difficulties in the comprehension by British audiences are very likely to be caused.

Considering the technical requirements of AVT—length of the subtitle, readability, difference in semiotic channel, synchronisation with the image and so on—omission and reduction are strategies frequently and extensively implemented to transpose the original soundtrack in subtitling (Bruit, 2009: 234). Nevertheless,



the idea of contraception in this film reveals Chinese people's attitudes towards sexuality in traditional society. Through portraying traditional Chinese life as oppressive, backward and inhumane, this film shows a desire on the part of the filmmakers to go beyond Confucian conservatism. While this film is sufficiently progressive in the eyes of Chinese viewers, omission and reduction of CSRs relating to the idea of contraception in the English subtitles may deny British viewers access to clear the sexual insinuations. Since such insinuations are not supposed to be taboo in the target culture, the omission and reduction in the subtitles may suggest a choice/judgement by the subtitler to prioritise acceptability and simplicity over cultural representation. However, this research suggests that this might cause a different understanding between Chinese and British viewers, which will be tested in the audience response test.

This trend of omission and reduction is also recurrent in the English subtitles of the other two films. The following scene is selected from the film *Red Sorghum*. In this scene, the narrator's grandfather uses sexually charged language to flirt with the bride. This scene shows how people in traditional Chinese society express erotic desire through the setting of the tone of the whole film as a "love-and-death story" (Chen, 1997: 129). Table 5.4.2 lists all the dialogues in this scene along with a literal translation and their English subtitles.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
22. Jiao shang de <b>xiao niangzi</b> , bie tou zhe kan na	22. The young woman on the sedan, no peaking	22. Hey, come on, no peaking

23. Gen <b>gege</b> men shuo ji ju hua Zhe changchang de lu ni ye bu xian men de huang	23. Say something to your brothers, you don't get bored by the long road	23. Say something to us, it's a long road
24. Shi a, shuo hua jie men, chang xi jie fa ya Chang ge diaodiao tingting	24. That's right, talking distracts us from boredom, singing refreshes us from fatigue	24. Yes, talking and singing will keep us going
25. Ni tou zhe kan ye bu guan yong a	25. It's no use peaking	25. It's no use peeking
26. <b>Xiao niangzi</b> , <b>gege</b> men tai ni yi hui bu rongyi a	26. Young woman, it's not easy for us to carry you	26. Carrying you is hard work
26. Shi a, bu rong yi a	27. Yeah, not easy	27. Yeah, hard work
28. Shui jia de gui nv ya, kexi le	28. Whose daughter is she? What a pity	28. Whose daughter is she anyway? She'll be ruined
29. Dang diema de xin tai hen le, jian qian yan kai ya Hui le Dang die ma de jian qian yan kai a	29. The parents are too cruel, they care for nothing but money. She'll be ruined.	29. Her parents are cruel, they only care about money
30. Li da tou liu bai nong, tang huang shui	30. Big Head Li discharges while pus, drips yellow water	30. Big Head Li's whole body is full of poison

31.	31.	31.
Ta shi bu zhong yong le	He is useless,	He's on his last legs anyway
Shi ya, bu zhong yong le	Yeah, useless	

Table 5.4.2 Translating sexuality in *Red Sorghum*

A comparison of the source dialogue and target text in the excerpt above shows that the sexually charged language has been largely omitted or reduced in the English subtitles. In the source text, the term *xiao niangzi* (lit. young woman) is used in both STs 22 and 26 to address the bride and the term *gege* (lit. brother) is used by the narrator's grandfather in STs 23 and 26 to refer to himself. *Niangzi* is a form of address for one's wife or for a young woman, while *xiao* literally means "young or small". The kinship term *gege* (lit. brother) used in STs 23 and 26 for a non-kinship relation, shows a desire for intimacy as explained in Section 5.2.1 when discussing terms of address. The sexually charged language in this scene, in which the terms of address play an important role, creates a tense atmosphere. In the English subtitles, the sexually charged language has been omitted or significantly reduced. The Chinese terms of address in STs 22, 23 and 26, the custom of carrying a sedan for wedding in ST 22 and the dialect to describe Bi Head Li's symptoms in ST 30, have all been omitted. The culture-specific Chinese texts have been rendered into plain language in the English subtitles. Audience perception based on these subtitles could be affected by this shift. The most likely result is a reduction of the presence of Chinese cultural values as far as the non-Chinese/English-speaking/British audience is concerned.

Table 5.4.3 lists the dialogues in the selected scene from the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, in which the Third Mistress tells Songlian, the Fourth Mistress, about

her experience of giving birth to a son.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
463. Houlai, liangren chabuduo tongshi you sheng, ta you xiang sheng zai wo qiantou	463. Then, we were close to due date more or less the same time, she wanted to deliver before me	463. When we were close to due dates she wanted to have her baby before me
464. Hua le hao duo qian, da le waiduo de shenme cuichan zhen, ba <b>di xia nage</b> dou cheng po le	464. she spent a lot on the foreign injections for early delivery, even that thing in the bottom was broken	464. so she had paid for expensive injections to have early delivery
465. Jie guo haishi wo ming da, xian sheng le Feilan, haishi ge nande	465. Fortunately, I gave birth to Feilan, a boy	465. She suffered long and great pain but only had a little girl
466. Ta shi <b>zhulan dashui yi</b> <b>chang kong</b> , sheng le ge Yizhen, buguo shi ge xiaojianhuo ma, hai bi women Feilan wanle sange xiaoshi ne	466. She was drawing water with a sieve. She gave birth to Yizhen, just a little girl and was born three hours later than Feilan	466. I had a boy, Feilan born three hours before her baby girl

Table 5.4.3 Translating sexuality in *Raise the Red Lantern*

As illustrated in Table 5.4.3, the whole sentence *ba di xia nage dou cheng po le* in ST 464 is omitted in the English subtitles. In this sentence, *dixia nage* (lit. that thing in the bottom) actually refers to a vagina. A. Ka Tat Tsang and P. Sik Ying Ho

(2007) find that, instead of taboo words such as “vagina” or “sex”, Chinese people tend to use creative and subtle utterances (e.g. euphemisms) to represent, articulate and communicate sexual issues. Referring to a vagina as “that thing in the bottom” in ST 464 is a case in point.

According to Qi Guo (2010), euphemism reflects the various states of psychology in which it originates. Long-term influence under Confucian doctrines and strict censorship on cultural concepts explains this tradition in China. In traditional Chinese culture, sexuality is taboo and people try to avoid mentioning it directly. To avoid taboos, to be polite and to disguise are the most typical social psychological factors that account for euphemising (Guo, 2010: 137). In rendering this into English subtitles, euphemism has been omitted or substituted in TT 464. Thus, the indication of psychology in the society, which is conveyed in the source texts through euphemism, is lost in translation. Omission and reduction have also been adopted in the translation of the following subtitles. In ST 466, the Chinese proverb *zhu lan da shui yi chang kong* (lit. draw water with a sieve) vividly conveys an assessment of giving birth to a girl, which is *yi chang kong* (lit. futile or all in vain). By translating this proverb through omission, i.e. by refusing to engage in any substantial way with it, the cultural charge of the dialogue is significantly reduced.

To sum up this subsection, an analysis of examples from the three films has revealed a tendency towards consistent omissions and reductions in the English subtitles. As the practice of subtitling has to take the issue of clarity and readability into account, most subtitles display a preference for “conventional, neutral word order, and simply well-formed stereotypical sentences”, according to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 185). Subtitles favour standard language, in which substantial culture-specificities are commonly omitted or reduced. This raises the question of

how to preserve cultural features as represented in source texts in English subtitles, considering the constraints, requirements and other technical issues the subtitles are governed by. Moreover, whether the norms of subtitling which involve neutralisation and simplification can be applied to the case of Chinese film subtitling remains to be seen.

As has been addressed in the present study, the answer to this question lies in the audience's perception of whether the translation has met their horizon of expectations. To what extent the subtitles have preserved cultural values in the source texts and whether omission/reduction is necessary depends on the effect that these actions have on the audience. In the above sequences, the absence of information regarding contraception, sexual desire or sexual experience could deny British viewers, who rely on subtitles, access to certain features that underpin a character's personality, attitude and intentions. Omission and reduction in subtitles could cause a different perception of the interlocutors' characteristics and their relationship between one another. If the semantic part of cultural transfer is reduced, the audiences' comprehension may vary significantly as they have to rely on subtitles to retrieve the information imparted in the film.

#### **5.4.2 Translating family traditions**

Family tradition is another important aspect of Chinese culture. Confucian morals suggest that the stability of society is based on an unequal relationship between the ruler and the ruled, family relationships between father and son, older brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and relationships between friends (Hofstede & Bond, 1988: 8). The family is considered as "a model of strength and

stability and the primary social and economic unit” in China (Engel, 1984: 955). Confucian thought considers that the human being is essentially a part of the social hierarchy. Each person is believed to have a place and a specific role in an overlapping social network, within which rights and obligations are attached to each position (Muller, 2013: 14). Such doctrines established and consolidated a rigid social hierarchy with pre-identified relations among members in traditional Chinese society and still have a significant impact on Chinese people’s thoughts at present. They “set the norms governing how individuals should act and behave in relation to others” within the family or in a society (Gao & Handley-Schachler, 2003: 44).

Under the influence of Confucian doctrines, loyalty, filial piety and chastity have set the moral codes for the relationships between superior and subordinate, parents and children, husband and wife. They are considered cardinal virtues that support the state and family in Chinese society. An analysis of the selected films indicates that these traditional principles are also central to the narratives of these films. Thus, the translation of texts involving these family traditions is important for the comprehension of the selected Chinese films and Chinese culture as represented in them. In addition, the analysis also shows that while family traditions and social customs are frequently mentioned in the Chinese dialogues, they are not always explained or preserved in the English subtitles. This is going to be exemplified by analysing the translation of family traditions related to loyalty, filial piety or chastity in the selected films. In order to provide a context for the analysis, one scene which expresses these concepts is selected from each film, and a description of that scene is provided.

In the film *Ju Dou*, Jinshan experiences a stroke and becomes paralysed. Neither Judou nor Tianqing fear the crippled old man anymore, and they continue

working for him. From the outside, the family looks like a perfect example of Confucian loyalty, while life on the inside is very different. Judou has an affair with her husband's nephew and gives birth to a son, who has to call his blood father "brother". As regards the translation, omission and paraphrasing have been frequently used with regards to the translation of family traditions. This is going to be illustrated from the scene in which the elders decide to hold a funeral for Jinshan after his death. In this scene, arrangements are being made for his funeral and for the future of his wife. In the original Chinese dialogue, culture-specific references *xiao shun* or *xiaoxin* (lit. filial piety) and *jin fudao* (lit. perform female virtues) or *bao zhenjie* (lit. remain chaste) represent Confucian virtues that apply between parents and children, husband and wife, which are two of the most important family bonds. These concepts are examined in sequence in order to analyse the cultural transfer in the English subtitles. Table 5.4.4 lists the dialogues, literal translation and English subtitles in this scene.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
325. Erye:  An zushang de lao guiju, zan Yangjia "Tian" zi bei	325.  According to the old customs, our Yang family "Tian" generation	325.  According to our customs-
326.  wang hou jiu shi Yang Tianbai yi mai dan chuan	326.  Yang Tianbai is the sole heir from now on	326.  -Tianbai is the sole heir.
327.  Yang Tianqing shi wai ren, bu suan shu	327.  Yang Tianqing is outsider, doesn't count.	327.  Tianqing doesn't count.



328. Zhao zuzong de lao gui ju, minger ge Jinshan xiongdi chu bin	328. According to ancestors' rules, tomorrow is the funeral procession for Jinshan	328. We'll hold a funeral procession tomorrow.
329. Judou he Tianqing yao lan lu dang guan, yi shi <b>xiaoxin</b>	329. Judou and Tianqing have to block the way and stop the coffin in order to show their filial piety	329. Judou and Tianqing must rush to stop the coffin as a sign of mourning.
330. Cunli dui tamen liaren benlai jiu you xie fengyanfengyu	330. There were gossips about them in the village	330. From the beginning there has been much gossip.
331. Minger ge zanmen Yangjia laoshao yemen dou zai	331. Tomorrow our Yang family will all be present	331. Tomorrow all of us will be present.
332. <b>Xiaoshun</b> bu <b>xiaoshun</b> , shi hei shi bai jiu neng kan qingchu le	332. Filial or not, black or white can be seen clearly	332. They will clear up the matter of your reputation.
333. An zushang de lao gui ju, Jinshan si hou	333. According to the old rules, after Jinshan's death	333. As set down in our laws following Jinshan's death.
334. Judou bu zhun gaijia, <b>jin fu</b> <b>dao, bao zhen jie</b>	334. Judou isn't allowed to remarry, she has to perform female virtues and remain chaste	334. Judou must not remarry. As his widow she must remain faithful to his memory.

Table 5.4.4 Translating family values in *Ju Dou*

In the scene above, the concept of filial piety is clearly stated in both ST 329 (*xiaoxin*) and ST 332 (*xiaoshun*). However, these CSRs are substituted with “a sign of mourning” in subtitle 329 and “clear up the matter of your reputation” in subtitle

332. Omission and paraphrasing in the target texts reduce the cultural features, especially the concept of filial piety, as represented in the source text. Thus, a different understanding of the relationship between the characters involved (Jinshan and Tianqing) might be caused.

The tendencies towards omission and paraphrasing are also found in the translation of the CSRs that refer to the relationship between husband and wife. In ST 334, the CSRs of *fudao* (female virtue) and *zhenjie* (chaste) are clearly stated. *Fudao* and *zhenjie* are important notions in Confucian doctrine, which regulates women's behaviour in traditional Chinese society. A woman has to preserve these virtues even if her husband is dead. The strict regulations on women indicate women's social status in traditional Chinese society, within which men have been placed in a dominant position. In the English subtitle 334, the concepts of "female virtue" and "chaste" have been replaced by plain English language: "remain faithful to his memory". Therefore, the cultural values carried in the source texts are translated into British morals, which is another case of domestication. The choices of omission and paraphrase accommodate the norms of AVT, in which standard language is often preferred. However, the present study suggests that a foreignised approach may be more appropriate here in order to meet audiences' expectations of cultural representation in films. As argued in Chapter 3, British audiences have established their expectations of Oriental films and cultures from their experience with translated texts. Simply omitting or substituting the CSRs in the English subtitles may actually conflict with their expectations.

The importance of family traditions has also been highlighted in the film *Raise the Red Lantern*. It seems that, from the first day Songlian arrives at the family as a new wife to the master of the house until the day she goes insane, family values

regulate her every movement and behaviour. Upon Songlian's arrival, servants come to serve her "based on family customs". The family customs, which include lighting up lanterns, ordering dishes and receiving luxury massages, run through the whole film. An important function of these family values is to regulate individuals' behaviours according to their position in the social hierarchy. As such, stable relationships within the family or the society can be achieved, as mentioned in Confucian philosophy, which is introduced at the beginning of the section. In the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, the relationship between the Fourth Mistress Songlian and the servant Yaner is a typical example illustrating this point.

The following scene takes place when Yaner exposes Songlian's fake pregnancy. Songlian confronts Yaner about secretly lighting red lanterns in the room. Table 5.4.5 lists the dialogue when Songlian accuses Yaner of breaking family rules by secretly lighting lanterns in her room. Through the analysis of the dialogues in this scene, the strict social hierarchy in the family is demonstrated.

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
600. Songlian: Yige yahuan, touzhe zai wuli dian denglong	600. A servant, secretly lighting lanterns in the room	600. You are a servant, yet you secretly light lanterns in you room
601. Zhe denglong shi ni suibian diande ma	601. Can these lanterns be lit casually by you?	601. Lanterns are only for mistresses not for servants
602. Ni yanli douyou shenme ren, ni ba women zhexie dang taitai de wang naer ge	602. Who do you have in your thoughts? Where is your respect to us, the mistresses?	602. Do you have any respect for the mistresses? 603.

603. Chenfu hai youmeiyou gui ju le	603. Are there any rules in the Chen family or not?	Shouldn't we run her by our family values?
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Table 5.4.5 Translating family values in *Raise the Red Lantern*<sup>6</sup>

As illustrated in Table 5.4.5, an omission is applied in translating ST 602. The whole sentence of *ni yanli douyou shenme ren* (lit. who do you have in your thoughts?) is omitted in the English subtitle. Apart from that, most sentences in this scene are paraphrased. The rhetorical question in ST 601 is rendered into a statement in the English subtitle. A wh- question, “Where is your respect...” in ST 602 is transferred into a Yes/No question, “Do you have any respect...?”. As argued earlier, shifts of syntactic patterns in the English subtitle reduce the sense of reproach as expressed in the source texts. As such, British audiences may have a different perception of the interpersonal relationship, the power relations and solidarity between the two characters that that afforded by the source texts. A similar trend has been found in the rest of this film for translating CSRs referring to family traditions. These choices reduce the complexity in the English target text at the expense of the cultural values as represented in the source texts. Whether these choices have actually facilitated audience reception will have to be tested through empirical studies.

The concept of family traditions is also mentioned on many occasions in the film *Red Sorghum*. A typical example of this is in the following scene, in which a custom of *huimen* is introduced in ST 78. *Hui* literally means “return or go back’ and *men* refers to “the door”. *Huimen* is a traditional wedding custom. It refers to the first

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<sup>6</sup> Note: TT 603 is difficult to understand. A more semantically coherent translation could be “Shouldn't we punish her according to our family values?”.

visit of a bride to her parents after she is married. According to the custom in China, the bride and groom should visit the bride's parents three days after the wedding. This is considered as the end of the whole wedding ceremony. For the groom, this would be his first time that he visits his parents-in-law officially as one of their family members. For the bride, this is the first time she visits her parents as a wife (and as such, she is no longer considered as their daughter).

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
82. Narrator Xinhun santian jie guinv shi wo laojia de fengsu 83. Natian, wo nainai tadie jie ta <b>huimen</b>	82. Picking up the daughter three days after the wedding is a custom in our hometown 83. That day, my grandmother's father picked her up to return to the parents' home	82. Grandmother visited her parents three days after the wedding 83. Her father collected her

Table 5.4.6 Translating family values in *Red Sorghum*

As illustrated in Table 5.4.6, substantial omissions have been made in translating this scene. Not only the term *huimen* in ST 83 is omitted, but also the whole sentence of “picking up the daughter three days after the wedding is a custom in our hometown” in ST 82 is omitted as well. The result is that instead of introducing a custom, the English subtitles only present two facts “grandmother visited her parents three days after the wedding” and “her father collected her”. The

original concepts of family traditions and social customs, which are key to Chinese society, are removed from the English subtitles. This difference between the Chinese source dialogues and the English subtitles could be decisive in terms of how each of the two groups, the native Chinese and the native British, perceive Chinese culture.

To sum up, this chapter discusses the translation of terms of address, rhetorical questions and Confucian values related to sexuality and family traditions in the selected films. There were instances in which it was difficult to determine whether a sentence was in fact a rhetorical question given the nature of this type of questions in Chinese language (see the discussion of *fanwenju* in Section 5.3). In addition, Confucian values are more diffuse than the first two types of CSRs. It was a great challenge to detect their instantiations or linguistic expressions in the text. Apart from this, the overall research was smooth. Close viewing of the selected films has shown that these CSRs are of paramount importance in representing Chinese cultural values in the source texts. The analysis in this chapter covered pragmatic/cultural, textual/linguistic and ideological aspects of the representation of Chinese identity in films. In the selected films, these CSRs are transferred into English subtitles using various techniques and strategies. A comparison of the Chinese dialogues and the English subtitles of the selected films shows that while there is sufficient time and space to provide all the information, a consistent tendency of omission, reduction, substitution and paraphrasing and a general approach of domestication have been adopted. The subtitlers' choices in the selected films reflect their propensity to prioritise transparency, fluency and an 'invisible' translation over cultural representation, which is assumed to be the dominant subtitling norm of British culture (Venuti, 1995b: 21).

This research suggests that the translation approaches and strategies adopted

in the selected Chinese films are bound to affect British viewers' reception of these films and Chinese culture as represented in them, especially their comprehension of social hierarchy, politeness, sexuality and family values, which are essential to traditional Chinese culture. The English subtitles in the selected films, following an approach based on domestication, sacrifices parts of the extensive cultural features inherent in the source texts. The extent to which such practices detract from the intended effect and constitute instances of translational loss has been analysed in the present chapter. Based on this, the following chapter examines the effect of the shifts in the target texts on British audiences' reception of the selected films and Chinese culture as presented in them through empirical research. The combination of textual analysis and empirical study distinguishes the present research from mere speculative analysis and goes further towards making more general statements about audience reception of Chinese film.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Analysis of Results of Audience Response Test**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

Chapter 5 provided a comparative textual analysis of the original Chinese dialogues and the English subtitles in the selected films. It highlighted the fact that certain cultural values were manipulated or insufficiently represented in the process of translation from the former to the latter. The analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that omission, reduction, substitution and paraphrasing, which are common strategies in AVT (see the argument in Section 4.3.3), had also been applied in the subtitling of the selected Chinese films. The assumption was that these choices were made to domesticate the films and to make them more accessible for the British public. However, the main argument presented through the textual analysis is that the general approach of domestication and the translation strategies that have been applied in the subtitling could significantly influence British viewers' understanding of Chinese cultural values as represented in the films. The failure to convey cultural representations in the target text would deny British viewers who rely on subtitles access to certain cultural features that underlie the utterances. However, these claims, which were drawn from an analysis of the texts, need to be juxtaposed with viewers' independent reports of their interpretation of Chinese films and Chinese culture conveyed in the films. Based on this understanding, the present study developed an empirical study and employed a questionnaire to elicit audiences' responses to the selected Chinese films, using a sample of British and Chinese viewers.



This chapter presents the main findings and analysis of the data obtained from this empirical research. The proposed methodology of the audience response test, which was introduced in Chapter 4, was applied to investigate British and Chinese viewers' comprehension of the CSRs in three sample film sequences. The responses given by the British and Chinese participants constitute the raw data (both qualitative and quantitative) of this analysis. While Chapter 5 mainly focused on the exploration of the first research question, the analysis in this chapter directly addresses the third research question: How do British and Chinese viewers understand CSRs as represented in Chinese films? What effect do English subtitles have on British viewers' understanding of the CSRs in the subtitled Chinese films and by extension of the films themselves? Through the exploration in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, this thesis hopes to provide reflections on how relevant the concept of Orientalism is in relation to the British public's expectations of 'Chineseness'. It also aims to consider how Orientalist thought is characterised in the representation of Chinese culture in Chinese films and, more specifically, in the English subtitles of these films. These reflections and considerations address the second research question raised in Section 1.4.

This chapter is structured into seven sections. Following this introductory section, Section 6.2 provides a quantitative analysis of the British and Chinese viewers' overall performance in the questionnaire which they completed. The analysis in this part is mainly based on the data generated from audiences' responses to the closed-ended questions in the questionnaire. Quantifying audiences' comprehension of the CSRs in the selected films allows the present study to answer the question as 'to what extent' Chinese and British viewers understand the CSRs and their connotations in the selected film sequences. Building on the quantitative

analysis of Section 6.2, Sections 6.3 to 6.5 are devoted to the analysis of the film excerpts that were used in the audience response test and of the data that emerged from the participants' responses to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire. Each section considers the analysis of one film sequence and audiences' responses to the CSRs in this film sequence. A detailed interpretation of audience response to the open-ended questions regarding each of the CSRs in the selected film sequences addresses the question of 'how' British and Chinese viewers respectively understand the selected Chinese films. The understanding of British viewers, who rely on the English subtitles, will be compared with that of the Chinese viewers who have unmediated access to the original images and soundtrack. This will allow us to measure the effect of subtitles on audience reception and the importance of the respondents' horizon of expectations for their comprehension of Chinese films. After this, Section 6.6 is dedicated to an analysis of audiences' responses to the last part of the questionnaire—their overall assessment of the English subtitles provided in the selected Chinese films and a summary of audiences' preferences regarding subtitling in Chinese films. The present chapter concludes with Section 6.7, which summarises the main research findings of the empirical study.

## **6.2 Quantitative Data Analysis**

Based on the selecting process presented in Chapter 4, the data prepared for this analysis consists of audiences' responses to the questionnaire from twelve British viewers and twelve Chinese viewers, who have been selected as closely as possible to the British viewers in terms of gender, age, occupation and educational level. Audiences' responses stem from six males and six females in each audience group, and cover three age groups (18-24, 25-34 and 35-60). They constitute the raw

data of this analysis. Both employed people and students from different levels (A-Level, undergraduate, Master and PhD) participated in this research. No participant over 60 and no unemployed or retired participant was successfully recruited in the end. The similarity between the British and Chinese audience groups in terms of background (gender, age, occupation and educational level) minimised the effect that the participants' background might have on their interpretation of the films, and hence optimised the validity of the data.

The discussion that follows presents the analysis of the data generated from the first part of the questionnaire. The first prominent finding of this research is that, despite the importance of the selected films in Chinese film history and their wide dissemination internationally (see the introduction in Chapter 1), only one British participant (GB3) had actually watched any of these Chinese films—he had watched all three of them. The rest of the British participants had not watched any of these films. The findings from the empirical research suggest that there was a discrepancy between the esteemed reputation of these films at international film festivals, in the academic realm, and their popularity among the general public—a fact that can partly be explained by the fact that the films are between twenty-five and thirty years old.

Studies of Chinese films, e.g. Fraser Elliott and Andy Willis (2016), suggest that the distribution companies for these films specialise in art house fare and, consequently, only release Chinese language films into the specialised and independent cinema circuit. These films had to compete with other subtitled foreign language cinema released by established art house providers in Europe and have struggled to find their share in the UK market where a relatively small percentage of audience appreciates foreign language cinema. One exception are martial arts or

wuxia film genres such as Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) and Zhang Yimou's *Hero* (2004), which were released into the UK market through both art house and mainstream cinemas and reached a wide range of British audiences. When considering English-speaking cinema of the mid-1990s, Angus Finney (1997: 8) argues that subtitles are "the sticking point" for English-speaking audiences. He claims that the generation for which Hollywood blockbusters are deliberately catering, the 16- to 24-year-olds, is one that is "growing increasingly lazy and unlikely ever to go back to subtitling" (1997: 8). Developed from Finney, Gottlieb (2004: 92) suggests that in the UK and the USA, subtitled films face problems meeting the demands of mass audiences. The few films that are imported are in search of an audience. He (2004: 92) also suggests that the dialogue of these foreign-language productions is often mutilated or domesticated to adapt to Anglophone norms and tastes. The findings of this research corresponded to both claims, which will be illustrated along with the discussion of the questionnaire results.

Apart from the participant mentioned above, GB3, who stated that he occasionally watched Chinese films, it was found that five of the British participants (GB1, GB7, GB8, GB9 and GB10) had never watched any Chinese film before while six of them (GB2, GB4, GB5, GB6, GB11 and GB12) rarely watch Chinese films. Although an increasing number of Chinese films have entered the UK market in recent years, especially after the release of *Hero* (directed by Zhang Yimou) in the UK in 2004 and *The Curse of the Golden Flower* in 2007, these British viewers were found to have little experience of Chinese films.

In contrast to their limited exposure to Chinese films, ten British participants actually claimed that they had some basic knowledge of Chinese culture, while only one of them (GB6) indicated that he was not familiar with Chinese culture at all.

Another exception was GB3, who claimed to be quite familiar with Chinese culture, although this was later found not to be the case based on the data from the questionnaire. According to the data provided by the participants, except participant GB5, who had visited China and acquired some basic knowledge of its culture, six of the British participants (GB2, GB4, GB8, GB9, GB11 and GB12) had acquired their knowledge of China and Chinese culture based on translated texts (e.g. translated literature, films, television programmes). The remaining four British participants (GB3, GB1, GB7 and GB10) indicated that they had access to Chinese culture through personal contact with Chinese family members or friends.

The data on British participants' previous experience of Chinese films and on their knowledge of Chinese culture suggests that there are still a certain number of British viewers who acquired their knowledge of China and Chinese culture through media information, e.g. books, journals, television programmes, etc., within which translation played an important role. However, Chinese films were not their major source of obtaining knowledge. This finding may suggest that there is still much work to do either by Chinese film promoters and filmmakers if they want to reach a wider audience in the UK or by the British people in terms of being more receptive to foreign films, although they might be more receptive than, for instance, the USA (Oda, 2013; Elliott & Willis, 2016). Further research on the factors that could influence Chinese films' international distribution and research on how to reach a wider international audience may yield valuable information. Although this is not the focus of this analysis, the role of audiovisual translation in this process cannot be neglected.

After collecting data on audiences' demographic information and their personal experience with Chinese films, the second part of the questionnaire was set

out to probe audiences' comprehension of the CSRs in each of the three sample film sequences. Altogether eleven closed-ended questions and six open-ended questions (two open-ended questions in relation to each film sequence) were raised in this part. Audiences' responses to the closed-ended questions provided information regarding their comprehension of the CSRs by expressing agreement with one of the presupposed interpretations. The discussion that follows presents a quantitative analysis of the data on British and Chinese participants' responses to the closed-ended questions in this part. Audiences' responses to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire constituted raw data on individuals' interpretation of the CSRs in each of the selected film sequences, the analysis of which is presented separately from Section 6.3 to Section 6.5.

Based on the data collected, audiences' responses to the CSRs were evaluated in accordance with the point-awarding system established in Chapter 4. Participants were awarded four points for every answer they had selected which reflected 'the presumed intended interpretation' of the CSRs in the film dialogue and for their decision that was based on their understanding of subtitles (see the procedures of data interpretation explained in Section 4.5). Each participant's responses to the questionnaire were recorded and evaluated. Audiences' responses to a total of eleven closed-ended questions were counted and the selection of the presumed intended answer of one question gets four points. Thus, the maximum number of points that a participant could have achieved was 44 and only multiples of four were possible. Therefore, the results of British and Chinese participants' responses had been divided into two groups: the participants who had scored 24 and above, and those who had scored 20 or below. In other words, the participants were divided into groups according to whether they had selected the presumed intended answer for six or

more of the eleven closed-ended questions (group A) or not (Group B). The results of British and Chinese participants' responses are demonstrated in the following table.

Audience groups	Score of audience response	Number of British participants	Total number of British	Number of Chinese participants	Total number of Chinese
Group A 24 or above	32	0	5	3	9
	28	0		1	
	24	5		5	
Group B 20 or below	20	2	7	2	3
	16	4		1	
	12	1		0	

Table 6.2.1 Score of British and Chinese participants' responses to the closed-ended questions

As illustrated in Table 6.2.1, the total number of British participants who scored 24 or above was five. Seven of them scored 20 points or below, which means that they missed at least half of the CSRs represented in the three selected film sequences. The average score that British participants achieved was 20. Presuming the point-awarding option reflected the intended interpretation of the utterances, Chinese participants showed a better understanding of the CSRs in the film dialogue in general. On the one hand, the total number of Chinese participants who successfully grasped the connotations of the CSRs in the selected Chinese films was larger than that of the British participants. Among the twelve Chinese participants, nine of them selected the presumed intended answer for six or more of the closed-

ended questions. Only three Chinese participants scored 20 points or below. The average score that the Chinese participants achieved was 25.

Within each group, the scores that Chinese participants had achieved were higher than that of their British counterparts. For instance, within Group A, the highest score that a British participant achieved was 24 and five of them (GB3, GB4, GB9, GB11 and GB12) were awarded that score. In other words, five of British participants selected the presumed intended answer for six of the closed-ended questions. None of the British participants were able to show understanding of more than half of the CSRs in the selected film sequences. Compared with that, the highest score a Chinese participant had achieved was 32. They had captured the connotations of the CSRs in eight instances of the three film sequences. Three of them (CH4, CH5, CH8) achieved this same score. One of them (CH12) gave the presumed intended answer for seven closed-ended questions and scored 28. Apart from that, five Chinese participants (CH2, CH6, CH7, CH10 and CH11) correctly responded to six questions and scored 24.

Within Group B, two British participants (GB1 and GB8) got the presumed intended answer for five questions and scored 20. While the number of Chinese participants who correctly responded to five closed-ended questions was also two (CH1 and CH9), the lowest score for Chinese participants was 16 and there was only one Chinese participant (CH3) who obtained this score. The average performance for British participants was not as good as their Chinese counterparts. Not only did four participants (GB2, GB5, GB7 and GB10) get the presumed intended answer for just four questions, there was one British participant (GB6) who only got the presumed intended answer for three of the closed-ended questions, which was the lowest of all the participants. This score, gained during the process of film watching, might



indicate a substantial difficulty in understanding the film through subtitling if it included cultural allusions and representations.

To sum up, the data from the questionnaire gives evidence of an overall better understanding of the CSRs in the selected film sequences by Chinese participants than by the British participants. The assumption that the translation of the references that carry cultural values and the lack of background knowledge of Chinese culture would deny British viewers certain cultural features in Chinese films (see the analysis in Chapter 5) was found to be in accordance with the data of the questionnaire. However, explaining CSRs through expansion in the subtitling may not be sufficient to convey the cultural reality intended in the original text. In certain cases, even adding this information would not be enough, since the Chinese viewers would absorb the cultural information conveyed in the films more naturally. Nevertheless, awareness of the importance of cultural representations and of how easy it is for them not to be transferred would present subtitlers with a clearer idea of the dilemmas they face and the strategies they need to adopt in order to achieve their desired effect.

On the other hand, while Chinese participants demonstrated a better understanding than British participants in general, none of them were able to fully grasp the CSRs represented in the three film sequences. Eight out of twelve Chinese participants actually missed at least five instances of the CSRs in the film dialogue. Given the number of CSRs tested, five was a large number, not to mention the fact that Chinese participants' responses to the open-ended questions in relation to the CSRs in the film sequences were also not as good as they were expected. The assumption that native viewers would not have substantial difficulties in the comprehension of the CSRs in the selected Chinese films was not supported

empirically by the data found in this research. I will return to this point later in Section 6.5 when analysing Chinese participants' responses to the open-ended questions pertaining to the CSRs in the third film sequence. Before that, British and Chinese participants' responses to each instance of the CSRs are analysed below.

Altogether, participants' responses to eight instances of CSRs, selected from three sample film sequences, were tested in the form of closed-ended questions. The results of British and Chinese participants' responses to each of the closed-ended questions are presented in the following table. Starting from left to right, the first column of Table 6.2.2 lists the number of these questions in the questionnaire, which shall be referred to throughout the following analysis. The second column is a brief description of the cultural references, to which each question pertains. The third column presents the source films that contain the CSRs. The remaining two columns list the respective numbers of British participants and Chinese participants who had selected the intended interpretation of the CSRs.

Question list	Cultural references	Source film	Number of British participants	Number of Chinese participants
Q12	Chinese lunar calendar	<i>Red Sorghum</i>	8	10
Q14	The action of jolting	<i>Red Sorghum</i>	1	3
Q16	Symbolisation of the colour red	<i>Ju Dou</i>	2	7
Q19	Chinese names	<i>Ju Dou</i>	0	8
Q21	Contraceptive idea	<i>Ju Dou</i>	4	5
Q22	The relationship between characters	<i>Ju Dou</i>	4	8
Q23	Red lanterns as an ideological marker	<i>Raise the Red Lantern</i>	4	6

Q26	The relationship between characters	<i>Raise the Red Lantern</i>	10	10
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Table 6.2.2 British and Chinese viewers' responses to each instance of the CSRs

As illustrated in Table 6.2.2, British viewers experienced the most difficulties in their comprehension of the CSRs when the CSRs were related to the names of the characters in the film *Ju Dou*. They also misinterpreted the symbolised meaning of the colour red in this film, and the intention of the jolting action in the film *Red Sorghum*. The data collected on participants' responses to Q19 demonstrated a poor understanding of the connotative meaning of the Chinese names by the British participants. A description of this scene has been provided in the textual analysis (see Section 5.2.2). Therefore, this scene is briefly summarised here: the village elders gather together to choose a name for the female protagonist's (Judou's) newborn baby, who is named Tianbai, based on family traditions. The family elders state that the baby's name and the name of Judou's lover, Tianqing, "fit together perfectly for this generation of Yang family". Q19 tested viewers' understanding of this utterance.

As argued in the textual analysis, the names of characters in the selected Chinese films contain important cultural values. In this particular case, the two characters' names, *qing* (青, lit. green) and *bai* (白, lit. white), form a phonemic resemblance to *qingbai* (清白), which means "innocent from any guilt". Considering the fact that Tianbai is actually the son of Judou, who had an affair with Tianqing, it is clear that the irony of this passage was expressed through homophony. Therefore, these two names, *qing* and *bai*, fitting perfectly together because "they compose a set phrase *qingbai* in Chinese", was taken as the intended interpretation of this utterance in the present research and as the point-awarding answer to Q19. The textual analysis

in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.2.2) suggested that the simple transliteration of the names of the characters in the English subtitles would deny British viewers the cultural values carried by the names.

The data collected from the questionnaire was found to be in accordance with this assumption. Among the twelve British viewers who participated in this research, none of them was able to capture the connotations of the homophone established through the names of the characters in this film. Five British participants (GB4, GB6, GB10, GB11 and GB12) suggested that they did not know why the two names of the characters fit perfectly together, while two of them (GB9 and GB2) believed that this is because these two names both relate to colours. The remaining five (GB1, GB3, GB5, GB7 and GB8) thought that these two names “fit perfectly together” because both of them start with *Tian* (sky), so they sound poetic.

On the contrary, most of the Chinese participants did not have any problem understanding this utterance from the original soundtrack. Eight Chinese participants successfully linked the characters’ names to the Chinese phrase *qingbai* and, thus, were able to recover the irony underlying the employment of the homophone. The remaining four Chinese participants (CH1, CH6, CH8 and CH9) had all selected the option that these two names “fit perfectly together” because they sound poetic. In this case, the assumption that the different cultural representations between the Chinese source texts and the English subtitles would cause different levels of understanding between British and Chinese viewers has been confirmed. The subtitle was found to be unsuccessful in facilitating British audiences’ reception of the films on this particular occasion. This, interpreted in the context of subtitling, might suggest the necessity of the application of an alternative translation strategy in order to achieve an equivalent effect between British and Chinese viewers.

As can be seen from Table 6.2.2, the British participants also had substantial difficulty in deciphering the intention of the jolting action in the film *Red Sorghum*. The selected sequence is set in a desert, where a group of shirtless carriers pass through carrying a sedan chair. For some film reviewers and critics (e.g. Wang, 1989b; Ng, 1995), the shirtless carriers, the curious bride and the rhythmic movements of the jolting action in this scene carry a sense of implicit eroticism. The intention of the tossing action was to evoke the feeling and possibly the imagery of sexual intercourse in the film's audience. This understanding grants a poetic interpretation to the cultural custom of jolting the bride. The jolting action in this film is interpreted as a sexual impicature that imaginative viewers are able to grasp, although this interpretation could be subjective.

Based on this interpretation, Q14 tested viewers' understanding of the jolting action, most specifically, the intention of the carriers to jolt the bride. The presumed intended interpretation of this scene was the last option in the questionnaire, which stated that the carriers "intended to evoke imagery related to sexual intercourse". According to the data from the questionnaire, both British and Chinese participants showed a basic understanding of the carriers' intention to jolt the bride. Seven out of twelve British participants (GB2, GB3, GB5, GB6, GB7, GB9 and GB10) suggested that the carriers were just following a custom to jolt the bride. This interpretation can be related to an immediate understanding of the utterance "According to the custom, the bride has to be jolted all the way" in the English subtitles. Only one British participant (GB8) unveiled a sexual interpretation of the jolting action. The remaining three British participants (GB1, GB4, GB11 and GB12) believed that the carriers jolted the bride because they were unhappy that she didn't sing for them.

While this was a true fact, it also demonstrated a basic understanding of the film plot.

While British participants had experienced difficulties in deciphering the presumed intention of the characters, the performance of Chinese participants on this question was only marginally better. Nine Chinese participants (CH1 to CH7, CH9 and CH12) showed a basic understanding that the carriers were just following a custom to jolt the bride. Only three Chinese participants (CH8, CH10 and CH11) successfully linked the jolting action to the imagery of sexual intercourse. Chinese participants' responses to this question were a prominent example of the argument made earlier that native viewers were not always able to grasp the CSRs in the film dialogue as they were expected to.

As illustrated in Table 6.2.2, the next question with the fewest intended answers by British participants was Q16, which enquired about audiences' interpretation of the colour red in the film *Ju Dou*. The results from the questionnaire indicated a remarkable difference between Chinese and British viewers in their interpretation of what the colour red symbolises in this film. According to their responses to Q16, seven Chinese participants (CH1, CH4 to CH8 and CH12) suggested that the colour red in this film represents "the rebellion against the feudal system", for which they were awarded four points. The decision regarding the intended interpretation of the colour red in this film was made based on the analysis of the film's themes (in Section 1.3.1). The film *Ju Dou* features women's struggle against arranged marriage and patriarchal society at a time of China "moving from a feudalistic and semi-colonial society to a more independent society (Cheng, 1991: online). However, this was only agreed upon by two British participants (GB3 and GB6). Compared with that, more British participants, seven out of twelve (GB1,

GB2, GB4, GB8, GB9, GB11 and GB12), tended to link the colour red in this film with passionate sex. The remaining Chinese participants (CH2, CH3, CH9, CH10 and CH11) also selected the same option.

Open-ended question Q17 asked viewers to provide explanations for their choices. British and Chinese participants' responses to this question revealed that their different interpretations were in accordance with their different cultural associations. For instance, while red is often linked to the idea of revolution in Chinese culture, it is the colour that represents "blood" or "violence" in Western culture. The participants' responses to Q17 and the previous question confirmed the influence of viewers' cultural background on their understanding of Chinese films. Further analysis of participants' responses to this question is presented in Section 6.4, in the analysis of responses to the open-ended questions regarding the second film sequence.

As illustrated in Table 6.2.2, apart from above-mentioned three questions (Q19, Q14 and Q16) with which the British participants showed the greatest difficulty in selecting the presumed intended answer, the number of British participants who selected the presumed interpretation of the CSRs was quite close to the number of Chinese participants in their responses to questions 12, 21 and 23. Q12 tested whether British participants could understand one of the utterances in relation to the Chinese lunar calendar. While the Chinese source text is "*qi yue chu qiu*" (lit. seventh month ninth day), a date based on the Chinese lunar calendar, it does not have a correspondent translation in English. Therefore, it was translated as "the ninth day of the seventh month" in the English subtitles. Eight British participants selected the presumed intended answer for this question, compared with ten of the Chinese participants. Similarly, four British participants were able to give

the presumed intended answer for Q21 (that the woman in the film *Ju Dou* needs contraception “because she is afraid of other people’s gossip”), while five Chinese participants selected the same option. For Q23, which enquired about the tradition of lighting red lanterns in the third film sequence, four British participants vs. six Chinese participants were able to figure out that the lighting of the red lanterns was used as a sign of privilege in this film. The symbolic meaning of the red lanterns was discussed in the analysis of the relationship between Songlian and her servant placed in Section 5.3. In that scene, the red lanterns were depicted explicitly as a sign of privilege that is fought for not only by the mistresses, but also by the servant.

Chinese participants also demonstrated a better understanding of the CSRs in their responses to Q22. However, unlike their responses to questions 12, 21 and 23, for which the number of participants in each audience group who selected the presumed intended answers was quite close, the difference in the numbers of participants who selected the presumed intended answer for Q22 was greater. Q22 was designed to enquire about the relationship between the main characters, Tianqing and Judou, in the film *Ju Dou*. The intended interpretation of their relationship was in accordance with film reviewer Jonathan Rosenbaum’s (1991: online) interpretation of this film, i.e. a story “centered on a passionate adulterous affair” In responding to this question, while a majority of the Chinese participants (eight out of twelve) defined the nature of their relationship as “a socially unacceptable affair”, only four British participants (GB3, GB4, GB8 and GB10) seemed to agree. On the contrary, half of the British participants (GB1, GB2, GB6, GB7, GB9 and GB11) believed that “while Tianqing is in love with Judou, she wants to escape the tyranny of her husband” and two of them (GB5 and GB12) believed that the two characters are primarily involved in “a love and sex-oriented



relationship”. The interpretation that Judou was trying to escape the tyranny of her husband was agreed upon by the remaining four Chinese participants (CH1, CH3, CH9 and CH11). Although only participants who selected the “a socially unacceptable affair” option were awarded points, this research admits that this interpretation is highly subjective. Nevertheless, the participants’ responses to this question are still valuable since they reflect the differences in British and Chinese viewers’ understanding and they address the research questions listed at the beginning of this chapter.

Another exception that is worth noting from the data in Table 6.2.2 regards audiences’ responses to Q26. In responding to this question, an equal number of the British and Chinese participants were able to successfully define the relationship between the wives/mistresses in the film *Raise the Red Lantern*. The total number of participants who were able to select the presumed intended answer that “these wives/mistresses are all legally married to the master of the house, while their social status depends on their husband’s attention” was ten. Successfully answering this question required to capture the connotation of the term of address *taitai* in Chinese language, which was distinguished from ‘mistress’ in English (see Section 5.2). Only two British participants (GB7 and GB8) and two Chinese participants (CH3 and CH7) missed the CSRs in relation to this question. Both of these participants had selected the option that “only the first wife is legally married, the others are mistresses”.

According to the data collected from audiences’ responses to the following question (Q27), subtitles served as the main source for British viewers to decide on the relationship between the main characters (see the data in Table 6.2.3). The analysis in Chapter 5 suggested that while the concubines are called “*yi taitai*” in the

original Chinese text, this term was translated as “mistress” in the English subtitles. As the terms “*yi taitai*” and “mistress” are not equivalent concepts for the reasons argued in Section 5.2.1, different understandings of the relationship of the wives/mistresses might occur between the Chinese and British viewers. However, the data collected from the questionnaire suggested this was not the case. A majority of the Chinese and British participants were able to access the factual information expressed in the film and figure out the relationship between the wives/mistresses. Only two Chinese participants and two British participants showed a misunderstanding of the term “*yi taitai*” in the original Chinese text and “mistress” in the English subtitles.

The data analysed so far indicates that when the question was acquiring factual information in relation to the CSRs (e.g. Q12 and Q26), British participants showed a higher level of comprehension, compared with other types of questions. For instance, successfully selecting the presumed intended answer for Q12 required an understanding of the specific English subtitle regarding the Chinese lunar calendar. According to the data obtained, British participants demonstrated a relatively high rate of success in answering this question. For their responses to Q26, although there was a discrepancy between the Chinese source text and the English subtitles, ten out of twelve British participants were still able to detect the fact and select the presumed intended answer: that both wives and mistresses in traditional Chinese society are legally married to the master of the house. However, when the interpretation of the CSRs required background knowledge of Chinese culture or a thorough understanding of the films, e.g. the CSRs in relation to the characters’ names and the implication of the jolting action in the film *Red Sorghum*, or the symbolised meaning of the colour red in the film *Ju Dou*, British participants

showed an overall poor understanding. These findings highlighted the impact of audiences' own cultural associations on their reception of Chinese films.

Apart from the eight questions that probe audiences' comprehension of each instance of the CSRs, there were three follow-up questions that enquired about how the British participants made their decisions, e.g. based on their understanding of subtitles, the visual images and soundtrack, or based on their assumptions in association with their existing knowledge of Chinese culture. One question was set out in relation to audience response to each film sequence. Chinese viewers were naturally assumed to make their decisions based on their understanding of the visual images and/or soundtrack or their existing knowledge of Chinese culture. The data collected from the questionnaire also confirmed this assumption. Therefore, Chinese participants' responses to these three questions were not counted here. On the contrary, British viewers' responses to these three questions pointed at the role of the English subtitles and the role that their horizon of expectations had played in their reception of the Chinese films. British viewers' responses to each of the three questions are represented as follows:

Basis for British viewers' decisions	<i>Red Sorghum</i> Q15	<i>Ju Dou</i> Q20	<i>Raise the Red Lantern</i> Q24
Subtitles	3	6	7
Visual images and soundtrack	0	4	3
Viewers' assumption or existing knowledge related to Chinese culture	9	0	1
Did not get the CSRs at all	0	2	1

Table 6.2.3 Basis for British viewers' decisions

As illustrated in Table 6.2.3, the data collected through the questionnaire shows that few British respondents believed that they had missed the CSRs in the selected film sequences. Two British participants admitted that they did not grasp the CSRs in the second film sequence and only one participant admitted that he/she did not understand the CSRs represented in the third film sequence. No participant suggested he/she failed to capture the CSRs in the first film sequence. All of them claimed to have understood the CSRs in relation to the jolting action in this film sequence. However, as the analysis presented above shows, audiences' responses to the CSRs in the three film sequences suggested otherwise.

Scholars of reception studies in Forlì, e.g. Antonini (2008), Bucaria and Chiaro (2007), have conducted research on Italian audiences' reception of translated audiovisual programmes through questionnaire (see the review in Chapter 2). They found that despite being confident of having understood the CSRs in the translated audiovisual programmes, the respondents had actually missed most of the CSRs they viewed according to the data of the questionnaire. In other words, the viewers were not aware of the cultural specificity represented in the films or television programmes. A similar result was also found in this study. While few British participants thought that they had failed to capture the CSRs represented in the selected film sequences, the results of the questionnaire suggested that most of them did.

The same trend was also found in Chinese participants' responses to the questionnaire. The hypothesis was that Chinese audiences would not have substantial difficulties in interpreting the CSRs in the selected film sequences. The Chinese participants' own assessment of their degree of comprehension was in accordance with this assumption. Only one Chinese participant (GB9) showed his concern with

the comprehension of the CSRs in the first film sequence. All others indicated that they had perfectly understood the CSRs represented in the three film sequences, either relying on the visual images and soundtrack of the films or relying on their existing knowledge of Chinese culture. However, as shown from the above analysis and in Table 6.2.1, eight Chinese participants missed out on at least five instances of the CSRs in the selected film sequences. The data of the questionnaire on Chinese participants' responses to the CSRs in the film dialogue was found to contradict their own assessment. The Chinese participants' comprehension level of the CSRs in the film dialogue proved to be overestimated.

The data collected on audience response to these three questions also shows an effect that the subtitles and audiences' existing knowledge related to Chinese culture, have had on the reception of Chinese films by British viewers (see Table 6.2.3). To a large extent, British viewers' horizon of expectations is based on their existing knowledge of Chinese culture. As suggested in the theoretical exploration in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, British viewers' reception of the subtitled Chinese films is a negotiation between their understanding via subtitles and their horizon of expectations. The data on audiences' responses to these three questions confirmed the important role of the English subtitles in facilitating British viewers' understanding of the selected film sequences. A majority of British participants' understanding of the second film sequence (six out of twelve) and the third film sequence (seven out of twelve) relied on the English subtitles provided.

With regards to audiences' responses to the CSRs in the first film sequence, the data collected from the questionnaire shows a distinct involvement of existing knowledge in British viewers' interpretation of this film sequence. Nine out of twelve British participants indicated that their responses to the CSRs in Q14 were

underpinned by their own assumptions in association with their existing knowledge of Chinese culture. The remaining three British participants (GB4, GB9 and GB12) stated that they had selected their answers based on their understanding of the English subtitles. This finding indicated that the British viewers' existing knowledge of Chinese culture, on which their horizon of expectations was based, has a significant impact on their comprehension of Chinese films and Chinese culture.

Furthermore, the analysis in Chapter 5 suggested that there was a substantial amount of text reduction and omission in the subtitles of the selected Chinese films. In the English subtitles of the selected films, terms of address included in the Chinese source text, which could indicate the interlocutors' intentions and their relationship between one other, had been significantly reduced and omitted. Therefore, the British viewers mainly relied on their own assumptions or their existing knowledge of Chinese cultures to make their decision on Q14. However, a comparison of the participants who made their choice based on their own assumption (GB1, GB2, GB3, G5, GB6, GB7, GB8, GB10, GB11) and the participants who had selected the presumed intended answer for this question (GB1, GB4, GB11 and GB12) suggested that audiences' assumptions about Chinese culture was not sufficient to interpret the CSRs correctly in this case. Only two participants (GB1 and GB11) who made their decisions based on their own assumptions were able to select the presumed intended answer for Q14. This finding may suggest the necessity for a more interventionist translation strategy in order to facilitate audience reception, especially on the subtitling of the terms of address in the film. This, from another point of view, confirmed the findings of the textual analysis that the omissions and reductions in the English subtitles would affect British viewers' understanding of the selected film sequences. As regards whether and to what degree

British and Chinese viewers understand the selected film sequences differently (or similarly), conclusions have to be drawn from the analyses of viewers' responses to each of the film sequences, which are presented in the following three sections.

### **6.3 Audience Response to the First Film Sequence**

Section 6.2 provided a quantitative analysis of audiences' comprehension of the CSRs in the selected film sequences. The analysis mainly focused on audiences' responses to the closed-ended questions in the questionnaire. Based on this, the following three sections present a qualitative analysis of each of the film excerpts that were selected for the empirical test and audiences' responses to the open-ended questions in relation to the CSRs represented in them. Viewers' responses to the open-ended questions in relation to the CSRs in these sequences generated qualitative data on audience reception, the analysis of which reveals not only to what extent the British and Chinese viewers were able to access the CSRs in the selected film sequences, but also how they understand the CSRs represented in them. Special attention has been paid to audiences' understanding of the interlocutors' characteristics, intentions, their relationship between one another and of the CSRs that are related to a specific aspect of Chinese culture. Based on the data collected from the questionnaire, this section presents an analysis of the sequence from *Red Sorghum* and audiences' interpretation of the CSRs represented in it.

There are several scenes in the film *Red Sorghum* explaining the female protagonist's (Jiuer's) emotional world and her attitude towards her arranged marriage. The sequence selected for the audience response test is at the beginning of the film. It is the wedding day of the narrator's grandmother whom we see as a

young bride carried in a sedan to the place of the wedding ceremony, carried by a number of strong boisterous men. The narrator's grandfather is one of the sedan carriers. Carriers jolt the sedan on the way, as is the custom in China when the bride is transported on the way to her wedding. The carriers of the sedan and trumpeters talk about the groom Big Head Li, who is known to be a leper and over fifty. As discussed above in relation to audience response to Q14, there is an implicit eroticism in this scene. This opening sequence "establishes the vibrant mood and mythical atmosphere of the film" and "introduces the themes of passion and freedom through powerful imagery and music" (Ng, 1995: online). The singing and dancing of the carriers in this scene creates a well-expressed image of license and vitality.

In contrast to the bright colour of the desert and the shirtless men, the colour scheme inside the sedan is much darker. The pretty face of the young bride is always covered in shadow. Trying to keep herself steady and sobbing quietly, she steps on a pair of scissors and picks it up. She hides the scissors inside her wedding outfit. According to the film reviews (e.g. Ng, 1995; Ebert, 1989), this scene creates the first hint of the bride's defiance of her marriage. The action of holding the scissors can be seen as a vivid image of her character, which "is capable of intense passion and hatred" (Ng, 1995: online).

Based on this interpretation, Q11 of the questionnaire asked British and Chinese viewers about their understanding of the intention of the bride holding a pair of scissors. Apart from three Chinese participants (CH1, CH10 and CH11) who admitted that they did not capture the scene in which she was holding scissors and could not guess her intention with the scissors, the rest of the Chinese participants' responses to this question mainly went into two directions. Three Chinese participants (CH2, CH4 and CH5) suggested that the bride was going to use the



scissors to protect herself. Others, i.e. the participants CH3, CH6, CH8 and CH12, believed that the scissors were for the bride to commit suicide. One participant, CH7, stated that she was uncertain regarding the bride's intention. She mentioned both possibilities: that "the bride didn't want to get married with an old man", and that the scissors could be used to "commit suicide or to protect herself". A response that departed from the interpretations by most of the participants came from CH9, who stated that the bride was trying to protect the man she deeply loved. This interpretation, and the interpretation of the British participant GB12 discussed below, demonstrated a clear misunderstanding of the character's intention in this scene.

A majority of British participants had expressed similar views to Chinese participants' on this question. One British participant, GB1, indicated that the bride intended to "stab herself" or commit suicide with the scissors. Most of the British participants (eight out of twelve) indicated that the bride used the scissors as a tool to protect herself, although they provided quite diverse explanations for this. For instance, GB3 stated that holding a pair of scissors "gives Jiuer a sense of confidence. She could use it as a weapon if needed" and GB7 had stated that "Jiuer is going to maybe stab the old guy". Others, such as GB6, GB9, GB10 and GB11, vaguely used the word "protection" without stating what she was going to do with the scissors. This view is also shared by GB2 and GB7 who believed the scissors was used for "self-defence". These British participants' interpretation of Jiuer' intention echoed Chinese participants' (CH2, CH4 and CH5) view on this issue.

Apart from this, one British participant, GB4, claimed that the bride "might be expecting trouble" without further explanation. The remaining two British participants provided significantly different interpretations that departed from the two main types of answers (for protection and for committing suicide). GB5 linked

the action of picking up the scissors to the Chinese ritual of marriage: “my guess is that it is to use within the marriage ceremony-forming part of a traditional rite within it”. On the other hand, the participant, GB12, had provided a clearly different interpretation. He stated that “probably she thought those men are going to attack her, she did not feel safe, she is worrying about being raped by those men”. This interpretation, as argued earlier, represented a possible misunderstanding of the character’s intention. A comparison of the understanding between British and Chinese participants revealed that while there was a certain level of similarity in their understandings of the character’s intention with the scissors, the understanding of the British participants seemed to be more uniform than those of the Chinese participants. Only one British participant believed that the bride was going to use the scissors to commit suicide, eight out of twelve were more willing to believe that the bride would use the scissors for protection.

The second open-ended question regarding this scene enquired about viewers’ understanding of the characteristics of the narrator’s grandfather, who is the leading male protagonist in the film. Textual analysis in Chapter 5 suggested that loss of cultural values in the translation of terms of address in the English subtitles might lead to different interpretations of the interlocutors’ characteristics between British and Chinese viewers. The data collected from the audience response test proved to be in accordance with this assumption.

The data analysed showed remarkable differences in the understanding of the characteristics by the group of British participants and the group of Chinese participants, while there was a consistent view within each group. Within the British participant group, “my grandfather” was perceived to be “strong” (GB3, GB4 and GB6), “mean, spiteful, obnoxious” (GB1 and GB8), “unkind (in the way he treats

her)” (GB5) and “aggressive” (GB11 and GB12). Apart from participants GB7, GB9 and GB10, who were reluctant to share their views on this question, only one British participant, GB2, offered a positive view on “my grandfather’s” characteristics. He believed that the grandfather is “well-known” and that he “has a sense of humour”. This is the only participant who shared a similar view with the Chinese participants.

Apart from this exception, Chinese participants’ comments on “my grandfather’s” characteristics were significantly different from those of the British participants. According to their responses to the questionnaire, “my grandfather” was perceived to be “chatty, outgoing, straightforward” (CH1, CH4 and CH7), “rough outside but with a good heart” (CH12), “kind hearted, considerate, understanding” (CH3, CH5, CH9, CH10 and CH11), “extroverted” (CH2), and “brave” (CH6) by Chinese viewers. Unlike the British participants, Chinese participants gave a highly positive view of the grandfather’s characteristics in general. Chinese participant CH7 even stated that the grandfather “made the atmosphere alive” by asking the carriers to sing a song together. Another participant, CH8, also provided a highly positive comment on “my grandfather’s” characteristics by saying that the grandfather is “wild, unstrained and bold, but cautious”. She even stated that the reason “my grandfather” invited the bride to sing a song was to let her relax. As suggested by the textual analysis in Chapter 5, this understanding was not at all close to the intended interpretation of the interlocutor’s intention or characteristics.

To sum up, viewers’ responses to the two open-ended questions regarding the first film sequence revealed that in interpreting the interlocutors’ intentions, British and Chinese viewers shared a similar view. Viewers’ responses to Q11 were mainly based on the salient features in the films as not much dialogue was involved in the scene of the bride holding the scissors. On the other hand, British and Chinese

viewers' interpretations of "my grandfather's" characteristics based on what he says in the film sequence were remarkably different. As pointed out in the textual analysis in Chapter 5, there were noticeable omissions and reductions of cultural markers in the English subtitles of the film. One of the most evident omissions and reductions was on the subtitling of the terms of address. As argued in the textual analysis, the usage of terms of address in this sequence, e.g. *gege* (lit. brother) and *xiaoniangzi* (lit. young woman), showed a desire of intimacy by the speaker and, thus, featured "my grandfather's" characteristics. However, these cultural markers were omitted in the English subtitles and the featured source text was translated with omissions, only including basic information. The analysis in Chapter 5 suggested that the loss of the cultural markers in the English subtitles might deny British viewers who rely on subtitles access to the interlocutors' characteristics, intentions and attitudes.

The data from the audience response test was found to be in agreement with this analysis. While the British participants tended to provide a negative comment on "my grandfather's" characteristics, Chinese participants showed a more positive view of the characteristics of the speaker. This, to a large extent, could be caused by the loss of the intimate terms of address in the English subtitles. Without the terms of address that represent a desire for intimacy in the source text, the rest of the utterances could seem to be rude and aggressive. This might explain different impressions of the speaker's characteristics by the British and Chinese viewers and the overall negative view of the speaker by the British participants. Viewers' responses to this question revealed that omission and reduction of the terms of address in the English subtitles led to almost opposite views on the interlocutors' characteristics by British and Chinese viewers. Differences between source and

target texts led to a different portrayal and perception of the main character in the Chinese version and the subtitled version.

#### **6.4 Audience Response to the Second Film Sequence**

Section 6.3 analysed the first film sequence from the film *Red Sorghum* and the audience reception data collected from the questionnaire. Following that, this section presents the analysis of the second sequence selected from the film *Ju Dou* and the analysis of viewers' responses to the CSRs in this sequence.

This sequence starts with Judou using her feminine power to seduce Tianqing. Tianqing is fearful of his uncle and filial to him, and at first rejects her. However, he cannot suppress his sexual desire and they eventually make love. Soon, Judou is found to be pregnant and gives birth to a son who is named as Tianbai by the village elders. In the next scene, Judou is lying in Tianqing's arms, naked. She expresses her concern that her period is late. The shot changes. Judou gets a small packet from a stone-built yard. Judou and Tianqing open the packet, which has red powder inside. Judou uses it for contraception. Tianqing later finds out that the powder was actually chilli. Judou suffers badly from an infection. She proposes to leave the village with their son. Tianqing hesitates as he worries they might get killed. Judou gets out a packet of arsenic and, proposes to kill Jinshan. Tianqing does not agree, as he still feels filial to his uncle.

According to the test data for Q16, more than half of the British participants (GB1, GB2, GB4, GB8, GB9, GB11 and GB12) linked the colour red in this film with passionate sex (see the analysis in Section 6.2). Such an understanding, according to their answers to the following open-ended question which probes the

reasons underlying their choices, was based on their interpretation of the film itself. For instance, one of the typical explanations was provided by the participant GB12, who stated that “the way the man talks to the woman is sexual, he is using her for sex only”. Apart from this interpretation agreed by most of the British participants, others stated that the colour red might symbolise “blood” (GB5), “death” (GB10) or suggest the birth of a new life” (GB7). The reason supporting GB5’s and GB10’s interpretations was the natural association in their mind of the colour red with blood. For instance, GB5 stated that “the idea of blood spilling comes out strongly for me, perhaps a portent of misfortune to follow”. GB7 stated that he gave that answer because in the following scene the character was having a baby. Two British participants (GB3 and GB6) suggested that the colour red in this film might symbolise rebellion against the feudal system, which is also the opinion of most of the Chinese participants.

Compared with British participants’ answers, Chinese participants’ responses to this question were more uniform. More Chinese than British participants, seven out of twelve (CH1, CH4 to CH8 and CH12), tended to link the colour red with rebellion against the feudal system. The rest of the Chinese participants (CH2, CH3, CH9, CH10 and CH11) stated that the colour red in the selected film represented the passionate sex between the two characters. No other answers were provided. The Chinese participants who tended to link the colour red with the rebellion against the feudal system saw the colour scheme in this film as a symbolisation of the traditional feudal society. For instance, CH5 stated that the dyeing factory and Judou’s husband were representations of the feudal system, so her actions and the colour red in this scene represented rebellion against the feudal system. This was agreed upon by the rest of the Chinese participants who made the same choice. Both CH7 and CH8

mentioned the fact that Judou was not satisfied with her marriage or her husband, so she wanted to fight against the old custom. Others respondents linked their choice with the tradition of Chinese culture. CH1 said her choice was based on “personal experience associated with historical knowledge”, while CH4 provided a more explicit explanation that “Chinese has a long tradition of a feudal system, within which the colour red has been traditionally associated with rebellion”.

The difference between Chinese and British viewers’ interpretations of the symbolic meaning of the colour red in this film is linked with the different meanings of the colour red in Chinese and British cultures. In China, red is evocative of the Chinese national flag and of communism. The People’s Liberation Army used to be known as “Red Army”. The colour red has represented the idea of revolution in Chinese history and this tradition has proved to be deeply rooted in Chinese viewers’ mind. As mentioned earlier, the colour red was more often related to the idea of blood or violence by British viewers, as it is represented in many thriller or horror films. The data collected from the questionnaire showed that the difference in the existing knowledge structures led to different cultural associations by British and Chinese viewers. The argument made in Chapter 3 about the influence of audiences’ horizon of expectations on their reception of Chinese films was hereby verified. Here the Western horizon of expectations does not refer to China and Chinese films, but to perceptions of red in general.

The second open-ended question in relation to this sequence enquired audiences’ understanding of the metaphor in the utterance “A wine jar, one with a handle”. In answering this question (Q18), nine out of twelve Chinese participants (CH1 to CH8 and CH12) were able to capture the implicit meaning of this metaphor, namely, that it refers the gender of the new born baby. In particular, CH7 stated that

“one with a handle means a boy with masculinity”. CH9 and CH11 left it blank while CH10 stated that he had no idea.

With regards to this question, six British participants (GB2, GB3, GB4, GB5, GB7 and GB11) were able to gather that this metaphor refers to the gender of the new born baby. In particular, GB5 explained that “the handle alludes to the male genitals or the supposed practicality of having a boy”. Five of them stated that they had no idea about what the “wine jar” and the “handle” refer to (GB6 and GB9) or left this question blank (GB1, GB10 and GB12). Apart from this, another participant, GB8, believed that this metaphor was related to abortion. This clearly was a misunderstanding given the context of this utterance. Although the reference of this metaphor was considered to be apparent for Chinese participants, half of the British participants missed out on this metaphor. The assumption was that this was due to that using a “wine jar” or a “handle” as a metaphor for males’ genitals does not exist in British culture. The findings of audience response to this question suggest a need for an alternative strategy in the subtitling of the metaphor in the source text, e.g. replacing the metaphor in the source language with another metaphor that has an equivalent effect in the target culture.

### **6.5 Audience Response to the Third Film Sequence**

In what follows, some light has been shed on the analysis of the third film sequence selected from the film *Raise the Red Lantern* and audiences’ responses to the open-ended questions in relation to the CSRs in this sequence. This scene is set in a bedroom full of red lanterns. A beautiful young bride is sitting in the middle of the bed. The Master comes in and questions the bride on her experience of the foot



massage she has just received. The Master asks her to bring one of the red lanterns closer to her face so he can better check up on her. The Master praises her that an “educated girls sure look different”. The bride, Songlian, takes off her clothes and lies down. Songlian’s request to put out the lights is refused by the Master. Just then, a servant knocks at the door and asks the Master to visit the Third Mistress, who claims that she is sick. This scene ends with the Master leaving and going to the third quarter.

Malcolm (2000: online) praises *Raise the Red Lantern* as Zhang Yimou’s most resonant film. According to him, this film can be viewed as a parable about the patriarchal, semi feudal society of late twentieth century China. The overbearing jealousy that develops between the Master’s wives and mistresses could be an indirect reference to the extremes of this Communist period. The scene in which Songlian is prepared for the marital bed communicates ideas of sex, jealousy and impending disaster.

Considering the paramount importance of this scene in setting the tone and atmosphere of this film, it was selected as one of the sample film sequences to test viewers’ understanding. Two open-ended questions were asked regarding viewers’ understanding of the CSRs in this sequence. Q25 tested British and Chinese viewers’ understanding of one of the utterances by the Master, “A woman is in good shape and knows how to better serve her man if her feet are taken care of”. It asked the viewers to explain the relationship between “a woman’s feet being taken care of”, “she is in good shape” and “better serve her man”. Another open-ended question (Q26) in relation to this sequence asked why the bride was referred to as *yang xue sheng* (TT. educated girl) by the Master and why he said an educated girl “sure looks different”.

The related Chinese source text was *Jiao shufu le, jiu shenme dou tiaoli shun le, ye jiu geng hui cihou nanren le* (lit. If a woman's feet are comfortable, then everything has been taken care of. So she knows how to better serve a man.). Q25 tested viewers' understanding of the concept *tiaoli* (lit. take care of) in the source text. This Chinese concept is actually related to the Confucian orthodoxy of *yin yang*, which “highlights the interrelatedness of the cosmos and human nature” and the sense of wellbeing that ensures for humans (Wang, 2005: 209). The implication of this utterance was to stress the benefits of a foot massage, which could achieve a balanced status, or a harmony between the cosmos and humans, between men and women. The term *tiaoli* in Chinese contains connotations of the Confucian orthodoxy. There is no lexical equivalent for it in English and it cannot be directly translated. In subtitling, the subtitler opted for a domestication approach and translated *tiaoli* as “take care of” in English. In this sense, the cultural values that were carried by the concept *tiaoli* were lost in translation. The textual analysis in Chapter 5 suggested that the literal translation of this source text would deny British viewers, who rely on the English subtitles, access to the source culture represented in the films.

The data from the audience response test confirmed this assumption. The British participants appeared unable to decipher the Chinese concept in this utterance. Apart from the two (GB7 and GB10) who left this question unfilled, British participants provided diverse interpretations to the relationship between the foot massage, a woman in good shape, and the fact that she knows how to better serve a man. Only two British participants (GB1 and GB3) expressed a rough idea of how they were related. GB1 stated that “I understand this as her body looks good, attractive and appealing and she will be good in bed with the man, the sex will be

good”. What she said could be a subtle hint of the balance between men and women. GB3 also mentioned that “feet in this film have erotic connotations, so bear upon conjugal relations”. Others (GB2, GB4, GB6, GB8 and GB11) were not able to clearly explain the relationship between the three ideas at all. GB2 stated this related to “paying attention to her husband”. GB4 believed that this utterance was “something to do with sexuality”. Others, such as GB6, GB8 and GB11, stated that if the feet are tired, a woman is not in good shape. The remaining three participants, GB5, GB9 and GB12, provided totally irrelevant answers. GB5 even suggested that this utterance referred to “the tradition of binding a woman’s feet, not doing this was not honourable, and not good shape”. Although this is a true fact, it was not relevant to this utterance. GB12 used the term “feminism” and thought this utterance related to women’s independence regarding having sex with a man or not. British viewers’ responses to this question showed that a literal translation of the CSRs in this utterance was not able to perform the function of facilitating audience reception.

It was assumed that the native Chinese viewers would not experience much difficulty in understanding the cultural reference in this utterance. However, the findings of the audience response test suggested otherwise. Six Chinese participants (CH1, CH5, CH6, CH9, CH11 and CH12) stated that they did not understand the relationship between the foot massage, a woman in good shape and her ability to serve her man. Three of them provided a subtle hint. CH3 stated with uncertainty that “it is hard to guess, it seems that when a woman experiences the comfort in her feet, she knows how to give a man the similar comfort”. CH8 and CH10 agreed with this, stating that “when women are healthy, they can provide better ‘couple life’”. CH2 stated that this utterance suggested that “a woman should take care of her husband”, neither explaining how she can take care of her husband nor mentioning

the relationship between the foot massage and the harmony between men and women. The remaining two participants (CH4 and CH7) provided an irrelevant answer to this question. CH4 suggested that this utterance was related to “family eternity”, while CH7 used the terms such as “cheerful mind” and “women’s identity”, which were not relevant to the Confucian values of harmony at all. The data from the audience response to the question suggested that when the culture-specificity was related to specific Confucian values, Chinese viewers did not successfully capture the cultural values as they were expected to. Rather, Chinese participants also experienced a certain level of difficulty in deciphering the cultural values in this film sequence.

A similar impact of the English subtitles on British viewers’ understanding of the ongoing interaction was also observed in their responses to the other open-ended question regarding this film sequence. Q26 tested viewers’ understanding of the concept *yang xuesheng* (lit. educated girl), the deciphering of which required background knowledge of Chinese history. The term *yang* comes from the *yang wu yun dong* (Self-Strengthening Movement between 1861 and 1895), an institutional reform which prevailed in China during the late Qing dynasty (Kennedy, 1974). Following a series of military defeats and concessions to foreign powers during the Opium Wars in 1840s, certain Chinese leaders urged a social reform in China. They advocated the adoption of “foreign civilisations” (the translation of *yang wu*) by the Chinese government, which adhered to a conservative Confucian worldview at that time. The second peak period of Chinese to English translation as mentioned in Section 3.2 was part of it. The aim of the movement was to achieve the industrial, military and diplomatic modernisation of China. *Yang xuesheng* is a term that was only used during the specific historical period when China started social reforms by

learning from the West (in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century). It was often used by the conservative officials or scholars to refer to somebody who had received a Western education.

In the context of the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, this term is used to express irony towards the female character. This film is set in Communist-ruled China in the mid-1920s. It was a period of Chinese history where wealthy men could live in feudal glory and keep a number of wives enslaved within their palaces. The implicit meaning of what the Master has said was that even if the girl had acquired a modern education, she still had to “serve” her man. This utterance in the source text highlighted the strictness of the traditional feudal values. In this film sequence, although the Master’s face does not appear, he is known and portrayed as a thoughtless womaniser who has no consideration for women. The silent response of the woman and the non-verbal sign of the bride’s face indicate that she is powerless and hierarchically below him. The term *yang xuesheng* expresses a disparaging and offensive tone, which was not maintained in the English subtitle. The ironic tone conveyed by the source text was lost in the literal translation of “educated girls”. British participants were unable to access the cultural specificity due to the lack of the background knowledge related to the political events it refers to.

Unsurprisingly, the data from the audience response test showed that an overwhelming majority of British participants failed to construct the implicit meaning of the CSRs in this film sequence, except for one participant, GB6. This particular viewer processed the relevant contextual premises available and concluded that Songlian “looked scared”, so she thinks the Master was mocking her. An even more vague answer was provided by GB3, who stated that her husband particularly mentioned an educated girl because he “is accustomed to women who are not

educated”. Except for these two, the remaining British participants were unable to recover the intended signification. GB7 and GB11 stated that they did not understand why the Master particularly mentioned educated girl. Others believed that the Master specifically mentioned *yang xuesheng* because “she looks more solemn and serious” (GB1), because “she is more interesting and receives more care” (GB8), or because she is “independent”, “innocent and unique” or “rich” (GB2, GB4, GB9 and GB10). GB12 stated that this girl’s behaviour shows her identity, but he failed to explain why and how, while GB5 suggested that an educated girl “looks more innocent”, and “perhaps they have softer hands or skin from not having worked”. This interpretation clearly showed that GB5 was not able to perceive the connotation of the CSRs in this case. Audience responses to this question confirmed Leppihalme’s (1997) suggestion that literal translation of cultural allusions may constitute cultural bumps for target audiences.

As far as the Chinese viewers are concerned, surprisingly, a majority of Chinese participants also failed to capture the intended meaning of the CSRs in this film sequence. Chinese participants described their interpretations of an “educated girl” as “attractive” (CH1), “different to other wives/mistresses” (CH2, CH6), “showing a feeling of good manner” (CH3, CH12), “with wide knowledge” (CH4) and “knowledgeable and someone who acts more reasonably” (CH9). When they were probed with the reference of *yang*, they were not able to connect the term with the political event of the Self-Strengthening Movement in Chinese history. CH5 and CH10 suggested that traditional Chinese society did not encourage the education of women, so women who knew how to read were considered to be different. The only exception was CH7. She clearly stated that the girl was different because “she was

educated in college” and she “accepted cultures from Western countries”. Irrelevant answers were provided by the remaining two participants, CH8 and CH11.

Analysis of audience response to the two open-ended questions regarding the third film sequence demonstrated that the understanding of CSRs required familiarity with specific aspects of Chinese culture. They presented the British viewers with substantial difficulties. Literal or partial translation of the CSRs that carried the cultural values of the source culture was not able to facilitate reception comprehensive understanding of the source text. An alternative translation strategy of this type of CSRs might be necessary. The empirical data collected from the questionnaire also revealed that native Chinese viewers, who were expected not to have major problems in understanding the CSRs in Chinese films, also encountered difficulties in perception when the CSRs were related to Chinese history or traditional Chinese culture.

## **6.6 An Overview of the Subtitles in All Excerpts**

After probing viewers’ understanding of the CSRs in each of the three film sequences, the last part of the questionnaire proposed questions about viewers’ comments on the English subtitles of the selected Chinese films in general and their preferences for the subtitling of Chinese film. This section presents the analysis of the data collected from audience response to this part of the questionnaire.

The primary finding is that, in contrast to the assumption of the researcher and the general negative views by the Chinese participants, a majority of British viewers (nine out of twelve) actually praised the English subtitles in the selected Chinese films. Textual analysis in Chapter 5 suggested that the English subtitles of

the selected Chinese films were not always able to convey the culture values represented in the Chinese source texts. Significant improvements could be made to the subtitles in order to better facilitate British viewers' reception. As argue in Chapter 4, the Chinese participants had a certain amount of knowledge of the English language. Therefore, they were also able to comment on the English subtitles from a different perspective to that of the British viewers. Within the twelve Chinese participants who attended this empirical test, half of them (CH1, CH2, CH4, CH5, CH7 and CH9) suggested that the subtitles in the selected films could be better. Only six of them believed that the subtitles in these films were satisfactory. Compared with that, the number of British participants who thought that the English subtitles in the selected films to be satisfactory was larger. Nine out of twelve British participants found the English subtitles satisfactory in general. Only three of them (GB1, GB5 and GB9) believed that the English subtitles provided in these film sequences could be better. None of them believed that the English subtitles were unsatisfactory.

Bucaria and Chiaro (2007) tested the reception of a series of dubbed programmes by Italian viewers. They found that although there were unnatural features in the dubbed texts, the Italian viewers showed a varied degree of tolerance towards the translation. A similar argument could be made with reference to British participants' views of the English subtitles in Chinese films. While the textual analysis suggested that there was significant room for improvement, the British participants demonstrated a great degree of tolerance to the English subtitles in the selected films. The data collected from the questionnaire showed a considerable difference between the textual analysis of the subtitles and the actual evaluation by



the British viewers. This, again, highlighted the importance of the audience response test in order to provide further advice on translation practices in the future.

Out of the nine British participants who showed satisfaction regarding the English subtitles, six of them (GB2, GB3, GB4, GB6, GB7 and GB8) took the coherence of the meaning as their primary criterion to arrive at their conclusion on the quality of the subtitles. Four of the British participants (GB9, GB10, GB11 and GB12) suggested that the amount of information that the subtitles provided was more important. The participant GB5 believed that general linguistic quality was more valuable in making their judgements. Only one British participant, GB1, thought the synchronisation of the subtitles and the actors' speech was important in their evaluation of the subtitles.

However, this was different within Chinese participants. Chinese participants seemed to value more the role of technical constraints in evaluating the quality of the English subtitles. Seven of them (CH1, CH2, CH8, CH9, CH10, CH11 and CH12) took the synchronisation of the subtitles and the actors' speech as their primary consideration when evaluating the quality of the English subtitles. Four Chinese participants (CH3, CH4, CH5 and CH6) believed that the amount of information that the subtitles provided was important, i.e. as much of the source text as possible needs to be transferred. Only one Chinese participant (CH7) agreed with the British participants that the coherence of the meaning was essential in subtitling.

According to the data provided, the number of viewers who claimed to be satisfied with the translation of the CSRs in the selected films was smaller than the number of viewers who claimed to be satisfied with the subtitles in the selected film sequences in general. Six British participants (GB3, GB4, GB6, GB7, GB11 and GB12) suggested that the translation of the CSRs in the selected films were

sufficient. This was agreed by a same number of Chinese participants (CH5, CH6, CH9, CH10, CH11 and CH12). Three British participants (GB1, GB2 and GB8), compared with four Chinese participants (CH2, CH4, CH7 and CH8), suggested that the CSRs in the selected films were not sufficiently translated. The remaining British (GB5, GB9 and GB10) and Chinese (CH1 and CH3) participants were not sure whether they were sufficiently translated or not. This is, again, different to the hypothesis proposed in the textual analysis.

The data collected from the questionnaire suggested that British viewers saw metaphors, interjections, and terms of address as three cultural markers that best convey Chinese cultural values. Six British participants (GB4, GB5, GB6, GB9, GB10 and GB11) and eleven Chinese participants (all except for CH1) suggested that the translation of metaphors was essential in conveying the cultural values represented in the source text. Two pairs of British participants respectively chose the translation of interjections (GB1 and GB8) and the translation of terms of address (GB2 and GB7) as the most important factor. The remaining one Chinese participant (CH1) also selected the translation of terms of address as the most important cultural marker that conveys Chinese culture. The finding of audiences' responses to this question was in accordance with the assumption that the cultural elements were important for audiences' perception of Chinese culture.

With regard to the translation of the songs in Chinese films, seven British participants (GB1, GB2, GB4, GB5, GB8, GB9 and GB11) took the type/role of the song in the plot as the primary criterion of whether the song should be translated or not. Three British participants (GB3, GB7 and GB10) believed that the songs in the films had to be translated regardless. Among the participants who preferred the songs in the films to be translated, GB2, GB4, GB5 and GB8, suggested that the translation

of the songs could help them understand the culture of the source language, while the rest of them focused more on the understanding of the films themselves. GB1, GB3, GB7, GB9 and GB11 all agreed that the translation of songs helped them to understand the film better. Only one participant (GB10) admitted that she wanted the songs to be translated because she wanted to know the lyrics of the songs, as they sounded good. Two of the participants (GB6 and GB12) suggested the songs did not necessarily need to be translated. While GB6 admitted the translation of the songs could help him better understand the culture of the source language, GB12 insisted that the rhythm of the songs could still be appreciated without the subtitles.

Chinese participants' views on this issue were quite different. The majority of Chinese participants, seven out of twelve (CH3, CH5, CH6, CH7, CH8, CH9 and CH11), believed that whether the songs in a Chinese film should be translated depends on the genre of the film. Three of them (CH1, CH2 and CH10) suggested that this is determined by the type/role of the song in the plot. The remaining two Chinese participants (CH4 and CH12) preferred the songs in Chinese films to be translated. Apart from one Chinese participant (CH11) who thought the songs in the selected films sounded good and wanted to understand the lyrics for that reason, most of the Chinese participants (CH1, CH3, CH4, CH5, CH7, CH8 and CH9) suggested that the songs in the films helped them understand the culture of the source dialogue. The rest of the Chinese participants (CH2, CH6, CH10 and CH12) all suggested that the songs helped them understand the films better.

British and Chinese participants' responses to the last part of the questionnaire revealed a different view on the quality of the English subtitles in the three excerpts in general and on the translation of the CSRs in the selected films in particular. As argued above, contrary to the expectations, it was found that British

participants evaluated highly the English subtitles provided in the selected film sequences. The Chinese would be aware of missing information, whereas the British would be puzzled by poor English sentences would not know what if anything, was missing. In addition, the data collected from the questionnaire also suggested a difference in what Chinese and British viewers value most in a subtitled text. While Chinese participants took technical constraints as their primary criterion of evaluating the quality of subtitles, British viewers paid more attention to whether the information provided in the subtitles is coherent. This was in accordance with Venuti (1995: 21), who sees “transparency, fluency and an ‘invisible’ translation” as the dominant norm of translation in British culture.

## **6.7 Conclusions**

The experimental study presented here investigated the comprehension of the CSRs in three selected film sequences by a sample of British and Chinese viewers. Both quantitative and qualitative data were considered in the analysis. As such, this analysis shed considerable light upon the individual interpretation of the utterances under investigation while simultaneously revealing precise information on the degree of audience reception. A comparison of the Chinese and British viewers’ understanding of the CSRs in the sample film sequences led to the following findings:

Firstly, the limited data analysed so far indicated an overall better understanding of the CSRs represented in the selected film sequences by the Chinese viewers than the British viewers. On a few occasions, British viewers only demonstrated a basic understanding of the selected film sequences while often

failing to understand the CSRs represented in the film dialogue. In particular, when the interpretation of the CSRs required thorough understanding of the entire film or background knowledge of Chinese culture, e.g. the interpretation of the jolting action in the film *Red Sorghum* or the interpretation of the colour red as a symbol in the film *Ju Dou*, the British participants showed substantial difficulties. Nevertheless, when the CSRs related to the factual information conveyed through the utterances, e.g. the Chinese lunar calendar or the relationship between wives/mistresses in the film *Raise the Red Lantern*, both British and Chinese participants demonstrated a relatively high degree of understanding.

On the other hand, although Chinese participants were able to recover the cultural values as expressed in the Chinese films in most of the cases, the assumption that the Chinese viewers would not encounter major problems in accessing the CSRs in the selected films proved not to be correct. Chinese participants showed great difficulties in accessing the CSRs that related to Chinese history, political events or Confucian values. This can be seen from their responses to Q14, Q24 and Q25. Chinese participants' responses to the CSRs in relation to these questions indicated that the CSRs could be lost not only in translation but also within the same language and culture. This may suggest that subtitles have the possibility to facilitate communication and to mediate cultural information that is not explicit to native speakers. Even in language pairs and cultures that are distant from each other, such as in Chinese and English, the results suggest that the subtitles not only had the power to denote but also to connote.

Secondly, the textual analysis in Chapter 5 suggested an overall approach of domestication was adopted in subtitling the selected Chinese films. Frequent omission and reduction of information in the English subtitles would deny British

viewers access to certain cultural values represented in the source text. The data on audience response was found to be in accordance with this assumption. This was particularly evident in audiences' responses to Q13, Q19, Q24 and Q25. In their responses to Q13, British and Chinese viewers displayed significantly different understandings of the interlocutor's characteristics. This was found to be in relation to the substantial omissions and reductions of the terms of address in the English subtitles. As argued in Section 5.2, the use of terms of address not only reveals the power and solidarity relationship between the speaker and the addressee, but also marks the characteristics of the interlocutors. It was assumed that the different usages of terms of address in the Chinese dialogues and their approximate transfer in the English subtitles would lead to different understandings between Chinese and British viewers. The data from the audience response test was found to be in accordance with this assumption. In the same vein, British viewers showed substantial difficulties in their understanding of the CSRs in relation to Q19, Q24 and Q25. Literal translation of the characters' names or the references in the source text that carry important cultural values adversely affected British viewers' understanding of the selected films and the Chinese culture conveyed in them. Overall, these findings have confirmed that subtitling choices have a significant positive effect on British viewers' comprehension of Chinese films.

Moreover, analysis of the data on audiences' responses suggested that the difference in Chinese and British viewers' perceptions was greater when their interpretations of the CSRs were obtained in association with their respective cultural backgrounds. For instance, British and Chinese participants demonstrated a considerable difference in their interpretations of the symbolised meaning of the colour red in the film *Ju Dou* in accordance with the different associations with the

colour red in their respective cultures. The British viewers' interpretations add to the film's significations and affective power. By the same token, the nature of the relationship between the two main characters in the film *Ju Dou* defined by British and Chinese viewers was also significantly different (see their responses to Q22). This finding has confirmed the argument presented in Chapter 3 that audiences' understanding of the selected films was significantly influenced by their horizon of expectations, on which their cultural associations were based.

Thirdly, one significant factor which has emerged from the data on audience response is that while the British participants did not always understand the CSRs represented in the selected film sequences, they were actually not aware of their lack of understanding. In fact, the data collected from the questionnaire showed that both Chinese and British viewers' tended to overestimate their degree of comprehension. In the empirical test, few viewers indicated that they missed out on the CSRs they were exposed to. Nevertheless, the data on audience response to the questions in relation to the CSRs in the selected film sequences suggested a different picture. This finding is consistent with those of Bucaria and Chiaro (2007) and Antonini (2008) mentioned above. In addition, while several instances (e.g. audiences' responses to Q19, Q14 and Q16) of the findings point to the comprehension or lack of comprehension of implicit meaning, there was an overall tolerance towards gaps in the subtitles on the part of British audiences. The participants, especially the British viewers, demonstrated a positive view of the English subtitles provided in the selected films in general. These findings highlighted the subjectivity of audience response and, therefore, the need to regularly corroborate research hypotheses through audience response tests.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Conclusions and Further Implications**

Based on the investigation above, this chapter provides a summary of the main findings of this research and the implications for future studies in AVT, particularly with respect to the Chinese into English language pair which has been neglected by Translation Studies scholars. This chapter is structured into three sections. The first section provides an overview of this research. It readdresses the main purpose of this research and the main themes of each chapter. Based on this, Section 7.2 discusses the theoretical output of this research and evaluates the methodology that has been used to investigate the issues set in the research questions. At the end of this section, the originality and values of this research are highlighted. After that, Section 7.3 explains the limitations of the present thesis and discusses potential implications for future research in AVT.

#### **7.1 An Overview of the Research**

The main purpose of this research, as stated in the introduction (Section 1.4), was to investigate the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers. In line with this purpose, the first chapter of this thesis introduced the recent developments in scholarly literature on Chinese cinema and audiovisual translation and stressed the importance of reception studies for translated audiovisual texts. This was followed by a theoretical reviewed of existing theories on the notion of effect and a discussion of Chinese to English translation traditions. After establishing a theoretical framework for this research, the effect that subtitling has on the comprehension of



Chinese films by British viewers was investigated by means of textual analysis and empirical research method. The rationale underlying this mixed methods approach was introduced in Chapter 4. This chapter also mapped out three types of CSRs that might pose a challenge in translation and that might affect audience reception. Chapter 5 proposed a case study based on three Zhang Yimou's films. Original Chinese dialogues and English subtitles in the selected films, especially in relation to the three types of CSRs, were compared in terms of the cultural transfer from the former to the latter. This contrastive textual analysis formed hypotheses on the effect that translation might have on British viewers' understanding of Chinese films and of the Chinese culture conveyed in them. These hypotheses were tested through a questionnaire regarding British and Chinese viewers' responses to the sample film sequences, the results of which were presented in Chapter 6.

## **7.2 The Outcome of the Study**

This research project grew out of the belief that studies on translation, such as consideration of translation approaches and strategies, translation criticism, or translator training, were unable to address the needs and expectations of "real readers" (Kovačič, 1995) or viewers without an empirical testing of audience response. In the realm of Translation Studies and AVT in particular, research has only recently considered the issue of audience reception or the effect of translated texts on receivers. Empirical testing in this area is even scarcer. In film translation, it seemed that translators aimed to translate for what they thought was a particular target audience, their 'imagined' target audience. While readers' comprehension of the text they interpret is determined by their 'horizon of expectations' they read and view, translators perhaps also have their horizon of expectations', determined by

what they think is their target audience. Whether and to what extent the translation approaches or strategies adopted have achieved the intended effect of facilitating audience reception has not received sufficient attention.

Under this premise, this research proposed to examine the issue of effect/audience reception from an interdisciplinary perspective and to combine traditional textual analysis with empirical research methods. This research discussed how selective influence theories and theories on the construction of meaning in media studies could be applied to an investigation into the effect of translated texts on receptors and, more specifically, into the effect of subtitled films. This exploration illustrated the possibility and validity of adopting the theories and modes in Communication Studies to the studies of translated texts. In Communication Studies, the notion of effect has been used substantially and for several decades. For this reason, it was useful to consider it in the area of Translation Studies who has only adopted the notion of effect sparingly. Literary frameworks have also been relevant in exploring reception. In particular, Jauss and Iser's reception theory, which emphasised the active role of receptors in reading a literary text, contributed to the theoretical exploration of the present study in reconsidering the role of viewers in film watching. In Translation Studies, Nida's concept of dynamic equivalence was brought into the interdisciplinary exploration as it advocates taking equivalent effect as the primary aim of translation. To the best of my knowledge, he was the first translation scholar to highlight the importance of the effect of translated texts. Therefore, audience reception in this study is looked through an interdisciplinary approach that combines Translation Studies and Film Studies with both Communication Studies and Literary Theory. This interdisciplinary approach provided a more comprehensive understanding of the notion of effect and

contributed to triangulate the analyses and findings of the empirical testing undertaken.

More importantly, investigating the issue of the effect through an interdisciplinary approach, within Communication Studies, Literary Theory and Translation Studies has shifted the conventional interest of Translation Studies research from the translation and the translator to the reader/viewer. While Translation Studies traditionally focused on texts and text producers, it is now increasingly emphasising the importance of readers and receivers. Considering them as agents recognises that the initiative for interpretation and response, which shapes the meaning of the text, lies primarily with receivers, more than with senders. This research contributes to the emergent field of AVT reception studies through the investigation of the translation and reception of subtitled Chinese texts into English, an area in urgent need of further research.

Drawing on an interdisciplinary perspective, this research proposed ways to test the transfer of cultural references in AVT—a topic that is as big as it is inexhaustible. This research rather begun from the realisation that it is not possible to make safe statements about subtitling choices unless they are also tested on viewers. Thus, while this research was able to provide some substantial answers with regard to the case study, it proposed an approach combining contrasting textual analysis and empirical testing. As argued in Chapter 4, as few scholars have explicitly elaborated audience reception or the effect of translation on their readers and viewers, no established method in the study of effect existed. While acknowledging that empirical work has developed substantially in the last ten years (Denton & Ciampi, 2012; Desilla, 2009, 2012; Suojanen et al., 2015), this research proposed a relatively innovative methodology that can be of use to future studies on different genres of

films and other modes of translated audiovisual texts.

Although, as regards both textual analysis and empirical testing, this research is predominantly qualitative, it has involved a questionnaire, which is a traditional quantitative research tool, in the investigation of audience reception. The methodology and theoretical approach applied proved to be solid and yielded results which enriched the area of audiovisual translation in the Chinese to English language pair, still very neglected in Translation and Cultural Studies. The contrasting textual analysis of the Chinese source texts and the English subtitles in the selected films formed the hypothesis of the effect that the translation choices would have on audience reception. The empirical test was able to test this hypothesis. The data collected from the questionnaire completed confirmed the different perceptions of the selected film sequences by both Chinese and British viewers. Employing a qualitative research approach with quantitative elements fulfilled the aim set prior to the research, which either confirmed or refuted the hypotheses formed in the textual analysis. The research design and the data generated from this research showed the validity of the combined methodology in the investigation into audience reception, and hence the great potentials of this methodology to be used in further research, e.g. reception studies between other language pairs.

In the present research, this proposed methodology was applied to a case study of the Fifth-Generation cinema and its translation into English, an under-researched area. As cultural and political relationships between China and Western countries develop, both the corpus studied and the importance of Chinese into English media translation expands their significance. The contrastive textual analysis in this research revealed a consistent tendency of omission, reduction, substitution and paraphrasing, as well as a general strategy of domestication in subtitling the

selected Chinese films. To a certain extent, the subtitlers' prioritisation of what needs to be retained and what not reflects tendencies and norms in interlingual subtitling (Toury, 1995/2012). In the case of the selected films, subtitlers seem to have prioritised other elements over cultural representation. Because of the subtitlers' choices and the general approach of domestication in subtitling, the Chinese cultural elements represented in the source texts were not fully transmitted in the English subtitled version of these films. In particular, there was a systematic loss in the translation of certain types of CSRs (terms of address, rhetorical questions and Confucian values related to sexuality and family traditions) from Chinese into English. Since these CSRs carry cultural values regarding power and solidarity, the expression of Chinese feature of politeness, sexuality and the importance of family and tradition, the findings may indicate the presence of a gap between Chinese and British viewers in the socio-cultural understanding of these concepts and themes.

A historical overview of Chinese to English translation in this research suggested that the discourse of Orientalism was closely related to the way that China was represented in translated texts. Orientalist thought served to form the Europeans' views on and expectations of 'Chineseness'. A close look at the Fifth-Generation directors' films showed that Chinese filmmakers seem to have accommodated these expectations in their works. Orientalist thought characterises the cultural representation in their films. As Wang Yuejin (1989a: 36) suggested, the Fifth-Generation cinema, featured with the stunning visual display and the exhibition of traditional Chinese rituals, represented an exotic image of China that the Chinese was reluctant to share. The cultural representation in these films thus fell into the pitfall of "self-Orientalisation", an accusation made against the Fifth-Generation cinema and Zhang Yimou's films in particular. Whilst hesitating to agree with this

accusation, the present study concentrated on the international success that Zhang's films had achieved and examined the cultural mediation in three of his films through subtitles. For the present study, the discourse of Orientalism and the criticisms against it merely provided a critical point of view, based on which the critical engagement with the Fifth-Generational directors' works was exercised.

The results obtained from the empirical study suggested a different understanding of the selected film sequences by the Chinese viewers and by the British viewers. Compared with the Chinese participants, British participants were more likely to miss the connotations of the CSRs in the film clips. Since the CSRs in the selected films carry cultural values of social hierarchy, politeness and Confucian moral codes, different interpretations of these CSRs would lead to different perceptions of characters and interpersonal relationships in the films. The findings of this research were consistent with Hatim and Mason's (1997) argument that cross-linguistic differences affect the depiction of, and response to, characters and interpersonal relationships in subtitled versions of films. The different interpretations between Chinese and British viewers, interpreted in the context of subtitling, may indicate an alternative translation approach and reconsiderations on the strategies in Chinese to English translation if an 'equivalent effect' is desired.

The originality of the present study has been three-fold. Firstly, the Fifth-Generational films were some of the earliest canonical films that were disseminated intentionally. This research analysed the aesthetic style and the cultural representation of the Fifth-Generation cinema and, in particular, of Zhang Yimou's films (see Section 1.3.1). This analysis brought in analytical concepts, such as Orientalism, that contextualised this research historically and infused it with political relevance. The discourse of Orientalism provided one of the major lenses through

which the cultural representation of the Fifth-Generation cinema was looked at, e.g. in Dai's (1993) and Zhang's (1997, 1998) works. The discussion of the cultural representation in the Fifth-Generation cinema, and in particular, in Zhang Yimou's films in the present study was also conducted in relation to this discourse (Section 3.4). The Orientalism discourse informed the way of how the findings of textual analysis and the data collected through questionnaire were interpreted in the present study. Furthermore, the translation of the selected films was analysed in terms of whether references to a prominent feature of Chinese culture in the source text were successfully translated in the target text. The selection criteria of the film sequences that were used to test audiences' responses were also influenced by this discourse (Section 4.4.3). While Said's analysis of Orientalism was based on the Western perceptions of the Arabic or Islamic world and he did not deal with this issue in relation to China, this research contextualised the ancient discussion regarding Orientalism in Western perceptions of Chinese films and culture.

Secondly, regarding discussions of aesthetics, the cultural representation and the reception of the Fifth-Generation cinema in this research was placed in a historical context through an overview of the major trends in the history of Chinese to English translation. This overview suggested a tendency to select and to translate the Chinese texts that represented an 'Orientalised' China or Chinese culture into English. Wang (2008: 23) argued that China was subjected to an "intense imperialistic gaze" and "colonialist representations" in the age of European colonialism, but stressed that "what remained to be decided is the role of translation in this process" (Section 3.2). This research has confirmed and developed Wang's argument. It investigated the reception of cultural otherness by the British viewers and suggested that the cultural expectation of an 'Orientalised' China has informed

British viewers' collective expectations of Chinese culture and influenced their reception of Chinese films. On the other hand, it argued that the representations of Chinese films have strengthened cultural expectations of Orientalism. The Fifth-Generation films, through massive display of stunning visual images and the exhibition of traditional rituals, were seen as acts of self-Orientalisation by Chinese filmmakers. Based on these explorations, this research highlighted the role of contextual parameters such as viewers' horizon of expectations in guiding their interpretation. The concept of 'horizon of expectations' in literary theory was discussed in the context of Chinese film reception.

Thirdly, the importance of examining the translation and reception of the selected Chinese films lies in the possibility to extend the methodology and theoretical approach to future research on interlingual subtitling. As argued in Chapters 1 and 2, Translation Studies and more specifically AVT are primarily Eurocentred. This research, through an in-depth case study on the translation of the Fifth-Generation cinema and their reception, shed some light on studies of Chinese to English translation and, in particular, Chinese to English subtitling. Textual analysis of source and target texts considered the core of Chinese traditions and the challenges of their multimodal transfer into English. It focused on translations of three types of CSRs, namely, terms of address, rhetorical questions, and Confucian values in relation to sexuality and family traditions. These were discussed and their reception was tested through empirical study of audience response. The textual analysis of this research covered the translation of lexical terms, syntactic structures and ideological markers in films. It detected the translation approaches and translation strategies that were adopted in dealing with the CSRs in the selected films. Empirical study tested the effect that these translation approaches and strategies have



had on audience reception while textual analysis provided insights into translators' decision making and offered evidence of audience reception, which will be valuable for translators' future works on subtitling between Chinese and English. The implications of this research extend to concrete areas in interlingual subtitling, e.g. research in translation strategies (foreignization/domestication and partial strategies such as omission, reduction, etc.); research in the translation of CSRs; research into gender, sexuality, identity and ideology in interlingual subtitling and AVT in general, research into AVT reception studies; research into the history of Chinese Translation; research into the translation research methodologies.

Last but not the least, this research touched upon how issues of sexuality and identity are expressed through subtitling at a time when globalisation is not only economic and political, but also cultural, furthering cultural understandings of differences between East and West is crucial. This research put the understanding of cultural otherness and its reception by British viewers at the core of translation. In the context of globalisation, the issue of maintaining cultural identities and the role of translation in this has attracted an increasing attention. This study has hopefully raised awareness of the importance of research on the cultural identity in translation.

### **7.3 Limitations and Further Implications**

I shall start this section with a self-reflection on the bigger commercial picture regarding film itself. Film is an artistic mode of expression, rather than a mechanical reproduction of reality. A film is open to different interpretations and a multiplicity of point of views. Film critics and scholars look for the meanings of a film, attempting to figure out what the author/director tries to convey. In this sense,

film has been reduced to simple messages in the interpretation. However, film is infinitely more complicated than that (Smith, 2001). First of all, film is a collaborative work of actors, director, cinematographer, producer, etc. In the process of filmmaking, many ideas go into collaborating in producing the final product. Thus, the question of a film's authorship is much thornier than that of a book. The meanings of a film could be the filmmakers' combined intentions or the intentions of some of them. In addition, we do not know the actual intentions of the filmmaking team, but rather assuming "on the part of its author an aesthetic and creative intention" (Metz, 1974: 15). Examining a film or the subtitles using analytic tools merely give us clues about the meanings of the film and form assumptions of the director/subtitler's intentions. This, interpreted in the context of the present study, means that among other things, criticisms regarding the putative Orientalist intention of the director/film have to be qualified and not taken as undeniable facts. In other words, if the film intends to convey an orientalist version of China in order to be commercially successful, then we cannot criticise the interlingual subtitles for conveying these ideas.

In what follows, the main limitations of the present thesis and the implications for further research are considered. First of all, I have limited my focus to mainstream, narrative films. The test results in this study are intended to be exploratory and not to provide statistically significant conclusions. More solid conclusions could be drawn from a more extensive study involving different genres of films and translations between different language pairs.

Moreover, it must be acknowledged that any interpretation of aesthetic, linguistic and even cultural-pragmatic aspects of the film remains subjective. As Saldanha & O'Brien (2014: 51) argued, language is never "a neutral conduit of

information about the real world it encodes: any account of experience is a form of interpretation". Film contains more than dialogues; they are visual, multimodal and cinematic products, which make their interpretation complex. Both verbal and non-verbal semiotic resources contribute to the construal of CSRs and the creation of the meaning by the filmmakers. Apart from the linguistic characteristics, other modes that are at play in the construction and transfer of meaning in audiovisual texts include music, sound, image and paralanguage. In this research, limited recourse has been made to the visual aspects of the films or to the interplay between the visual and verbal modes. Thus, an analysis that looks at the multimodal nature of audiovisual texts would yield equally valuable findings of a different order.

This research discussed the effect of subtitles on British viewers' reception of Chinese films and the influence of their horizon of expectations on their comprehension of subtitles. In the theoretical exploration of this research, British viewers were seen as an 'interpretative community', given the wide diversity of their age, level of education and reading habits, etc. In conducting an empirical experiment (see Section 4.5), efforts were also made to mitigate the effect of these factors on audience reception. Given that, the influence of these pre-textual factors could never be eliminated in an empirical experiment of audience response. One limitation of the use of questionnaires in the present study has to do with the viewers' possible prior exposure to the same or similar genre of Chinese films. As I have argued in Section 2.4, the participants may be familiar with genre conventions and make inferences to these conventions as the narrative unfolds. Thus, the participants' responses to the questionnaire might be biased by their existing knowledge acquired from previous exposure to films of the same or similar genre. The sample clips were too short to gauge this effect. Thus, future work probing the

differences between the viewers who have been exposed to Chinese films and those who have not, or a study with several distinct phases and longer audiovisual clips may offer different insights into this issue.

Apart from viewers' familiarity with genre conventions and intertextual competence, their familiarity with Chinese history and broader world knowledge in general may have an effect on the results. As Livingstone (1998: 85) argues, the meaning of a text is "constructed through the dynamic of interpreter and interpreted". The text provides a 'schema' with located gaps; the reader/viewer may fill in the gaps on the basis of his or her experience. Thus, the pre-existing variables among people might also have an impact on the outcome of the study. An adequate investigation of the effect of viewers' 'schemata' on their reception needs to go further in terms of the degree of the influence and the psychological process. Given space constraints, more in-depth explanations of this effect remain beyond the scope of this research.

In addition, the limitation of non-authenticity of conditions of viewing has to be addressed. Roy Stafford (2007: 131) argues that because of the artificiality of the laboratory setting, experiments can never be absolutely representative of the way viewers behave in a natural environment. Desilla (2014) further explains that when viewers watch a film in a real life experience, they are largely unaware of the remarkable array of the psychological processes taking place. Even if they did, they would not normally be asked to rationalise their inferences on paper. However, in an experimental setting like the present study, the participants were asked to stick to a standardised procedure and to recite a formal set of instructions without normal interactive gestures (Coolican, 2004). They are hardly likely to feel 'at home' and behave in a manner representative of their normal behaviour. Therefore, the results

of the present study may not reflect the actual psychological process when they watch the films in an authentic setting and cannot be generalised to real situations.

While this research admits its limitations regarding the interpretation of the CSRs and the audience response test that it proposes, it has aimed to be comprehensive in its methodology in spite of its relatively limited scope. The importance of this study lies in its qualitative insights with the quantitative component as supplement. The combination of open-ended and closed-ended questions in the questionnaire allowed the present study to collect data on participants' responses to specific CSRs by expressing their agreements with a prelisted statement, and it also encouraged the participants to volunteer unprompted input. As such, this research shed some light upon the individual interpretation of the utterances under investigation, while simultaneously revealing similarities and differences both between individuals within each audience group and across the two groups.

Despite the limitations listed above, this research as a whole represents a step towards enhancing our understanding of audience reception of translated texts through subtitles. The implications are manifold both for research and for translation practice. The methodology applied in the present study may trigger more general and structured research in other modes of translated audiovisual texts, e.g. dubbed or revoiced programmes. The present research borrowed concepts from the critique of Orientalism and employed them so as to propose a series of hypotheses regarding the cultural representation in Chinese films. These hypotheses were applied in the investigation of the Fifth-Generation directors' films and further measured through methodologically more precise reception research, which involved an empirical experiment through questionnaire. The general approach of the current research, that

is, starting from a dominant, culturally salient discourse of identity and conducting reception studies that measure precisely this, can be replicated. In this respect, it is paving the way for more studies in this area.

Past research in Translation Studies has privileged pragmatic analysis. The overall lack of empirical evidence of audience reception deserves further attention from both the practitioners and AVT educators. It is hoped that the findings I have discussed have highlighted the scarcity of more reception studies in a wider range of texts and with a larger number of viewers. This research also opens the possibility to investigate the issue of effect/audience reception from an interdisciplinary perspective and sets up a combined methodology to test the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers. Through the investigation, this research hopes to provide a model for future studies that will use empirical methods to test audience responses. This experiment has thus contributed to map out audience reception of Chinese films and Chinese culture as represented in them.

As it was argued earlier (in Section 1.2), the translation process does not end at the point where the translation is finished and delivered to the client. The findings of this research provide feedback on whether the subtitles have achieved the desired effect of facilitating audience reception. A new cycle of translation starts with a more detailed user profile, which helps the translator to employ the appropriate translation strategies to benefit the user. As for the education or audiovisual translators, Kovačič (1995) argues that subtitlers' training was most restricted to hands-on experience, with in-house manuals. She states that the subtitlers are not fully prepared if only strategies for reducing text were taught. AVT teaching should develop the translators' awareness of the procedures, decision making processes and viewers' reception (Kovačič, 1995). Although the model of AVT training has significantly changed in

the past two decades, Kovačič's proposal of a "systematic, full-scale training of future subtitlers" (1995: 382) remains valuable up to date.

In the twenty-first century, English and Chinese languages play a strong role in shaping global cultures. China is not only more open to foreign cultures than ever in its modern history, but English-speaking countries are also more receptive to its culture. Translation, and particularly audiovisual translation in a world where the cultural habitus is dominated by audiovisual texts, plays a vital role in knowledge exchange and cultural interaction. Yet very little research on how these texts reach English speaking audiences has been undertaken. I hope to have started a trend that does not only show the crucial importance of examining translation from Chinese into English, but also how translation and the culture representations that depend on it are shaped by readers and viewers of the twenty-first century.

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*Red Sorghum* (Part I and Part II)

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MrKMUO3ssOU&feature=share&from=single\\_message&isappinstalled=0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MrKMUO3ssOU&feature=share&from=single_message&isappinstalled=0)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vShqlq70zaw&feature=share&from=singlemess age&isappinstalled=0>

*Ju Dou*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p4IaNzofg0w&feature=share&from=singlemess age&isappinstalled=0>

*Raise the Red Lantern*

[https://youtu.be/qWtAK\\_YCrTw](https://youtu.be/qWtAK_YCrTw)

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## Appendix 1 *Red Sorghum* Corpus

Source Text	Target Text
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 本片荣获第 38 届西柏林国际电影节“金熊”大奖</li> <li>2. 西安电影制片厂</li> <li>3. 红高粱</li> <li>4. 根据莫言小说 《红高粱》《高粱酒》改编</li> <li>5. *我跟你说说我爷爷奶奶的这段事 这段事在我老家至今还常有人提起</li> <li>6. 日子久了</li> <li>7. 有人信也有人不信</li> <li>8. 这是我奶奶</li> <li>9. 那年的七月初九</li> <li>10. 是我奶奶出嫁的日子</li> <li>11. 娶我奶奶的 是十里八坡烧酒作坊的掌柜，李大头</li> <li>12. 50 多岁了才娶上这门亲</li> <li>13. 因为人们都知道他有麻风病</li> <li>14. 坐轿不能哭， 哭轿吐轿没有好报</li> <li>15. 盖头不能掀， 盖头一掀必生事端</li> <li>16. 上轿</li> <li>17. 照那会的规矩 半道上要折腾新娘子</li> <li>18. 那天抬轿子的吹喇叭的 都是李大头的伙计</li> <li>19. 只雇了一个轿把式</li> <li>20. 他是方圆百里有名的轿夫</li> <li>21. 后来就成了我爷爷</li> <li>22. 轿上的小娘子，别偷着看哪</li> <li>23. 跟哥哥们说几句话</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Golden Bear best film award 1988 Berlin Film Festival</li> <li>2. Xi'an Film Studio The People's Republic of China</li> <li>3. Red Sorghum</li> <li>4. From the novels by Mo Yan</li> <li>5. *This is my grandparents' story People in our region still tell it</li> <li>6. It happened a long time ago</li> <li>7. Some people believe it, and some people don't</li> <li>8. This is my grandmother</li> <li>9. The ninth day of the seventh month...</li> <li>10. ...was my grandmother's wedding day</li> <li>11. She was married Big Head Li, the winer master</li> <li>12. He was over fifty</li> <li>13. And everyone knew he was a leper</li> <li>14. Don't cry in the sedan, it'll bring you bad luck</li> <li>15. Don't lift the veil, it'll get you into trouble</li> <li>16. Come on, let's go</li> <li>17. According to custom, the bride had to be jolted all the way</li> <li>18. The carriers and trumpeters were all Big Head's men</li> <li>19. Only one carrier was hired</li> <li>20. He was famous round there</li> <li>21. He became my grandfather</li> <li>22. Hey, come on, no peeking</li> <li>23. Say something to us.</li> </ol>

<p><u>这长长的路 你也不嫌闷得慌</u></p> <p>24. 是啊，说话解闷，唱戏解乏呀</p> <p>25. 唱个调调听听 你偷着看也不管用啊</p> <p>26. 小娘子哥哥们抬你一回不容易啊</p> <p>27. 是啊，不容易啊</p> <p>28. 谁家的闺女呀，可惜了</p> <p>29. 当爹妈的心太狠了， 见钱眼开呀 毁了 当爹妈的见钱眼开啊</p> <p>30. 李大头流白脓，淌黄水</p> <p>31. 他是不中用了 是呀，不中用了</p> <p>32. 你可不能让李大头沾身 不能啊 沾了身你也就烂了 是啊，你也就烂了</p> <p>33. 要是后悔还来得及</p> <p>34. 哥哥们再把你抬回去</p> <p>35. 一句话，抬回去 你哥哥我就等你这句话了</p> <p>36. 小娘子，给哥哥们唱个曲儿吧 来吧 哥哥们抬着你呢</p> <p>37. 不说话，颠</p> <p>38. 颠不出话来还颠不出尿来 大号</p> <p>39. 客未走 席没散</p> <p>40. 四下新郎寻不见</p> <p>41. 急猴猴 新郎官</p> <p>42. 钻进洞房把盖头掀 哎呀呀 我的乖蛋</p> <p>43. 定神看 大麻点</p> <p>44. 塌鼻豁嘴 翻翻眼</p> <p>45. 鸡脖子 五花脸</p> <p>46. 头上虱子接半碗</p> <p>47. 哎呀呀 我的乖蛋</p> <p>48. <u>还是不说话 再给我颠 颠*</u></p> <p>49. 丑新娘 我的天</p>	<p><u>it's a long road</u></p> <p>24. Yes, talking and singing will keep up going</p> <p>25. It's no use peeking</p> <p>26. Carrying you is hard work</p> <p>27. Yeah, hard work</p> <p>28. Whose daughter is she anyway? She'll be ruined</p> <p>29. Her parents are cruel, they only care about money</p> <p>30. Big Head Li's whole body is full of poison</p> <p>31. He's on his last legs anyway</p> <p>32. Don't let him touch you. If you do, you'll rot</p> <p>33. If you chang your mind...</p> <p>34. ...there's still time to go back</p> <p>35. I'm just waiting for the word</p> <p>36. Come on, sing us a song</p> <p>37. No? We'll jolt you then</p> <p>38. You won't speak, so we'll jolt the piss out of you</p> <p>39. "The guests haven't gone yet</p> <p>40. "But the groom has disappeared</p> <p>41. "He can't wait any longer</p> <p>42. "He's gone off to lift the veil</p> <p>43. "Look at his pock-marked face</p> <p>44. "Flat-nosed, hare-lipped, eyelids insdie out</p> <p>45. "A chicken neck, an ugly face</p> <p>46. "A head crawling with lots of lice</p> <p>47. "Oh, my darling. Oh, my darling"</p> <p>48. <u>Still silent? Jolt her again*</u></p> <p>49. "Oh, dear, what an ugly bride</p>
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50. 龇牙往我怀里钻	50. "She wants to hug me, hug me
51. 扭身跑 不敢看	51. "I turn and run, I can't look
52. 二蛋今晚睡猪圈	52. "I'd rather sleep in the pigsty
53. 哎呀呀 我的乖蛋	53. "Oh, my darling. Oh, my darling"
54. 走 走	54. Let's walk
55. 从我奶奶家到十八里坡	55. <i>To get to the winery...</i>
56. 要过青沙口	56. <i>...they had to pass Qingshakou</i>
57. 这地方不知道从哪年起	57. <i>No one knows when Qingshakou first appeared here</i>
58. 长出了百十亩高粱 没人种也没人收	58. <i>No one planted or harvest it</i>
59. 老家的人都说这是野高粱 还说这儿常闹鬼	59. <i>They say it was wild sorghum, and that it was haunted</i>
60. 站住 不许跑	60. Stop! Don't try to run
61. 轿子放下	61. Put the sedan down
62. 掏钱	62. Get your money out
63. 老子是神枪三炮	63. I am Sanpao
64. 快掏钱 不然老子就开枪了	64. Get your money out or I'll shoot
65. 解裤带	65. Untie your belt
66. 把钱和裤带都搁到这来	66. Put the money and the belts here
67. 都给老子滚到轿子后头去	67. Get behind the sedan
68. 不许回头	68. Don't turn around
69. 蹲下	69. Crouch down
70. 不许回头 谁回头就打死谁	70. Don't turn around or I'll kill you
71. 下轿 走	71. Get out! Now!
72. 高粱地里走	72. Into the sorghum
73. 快走	73. Quickly!
74. 看什么 走	74. <u>What are you staring at?</u>
75. 打 打 死里打...	75. Kill him! Kill him!
76. 这么不经打	76. So easy to kill
77. 死了	77. He's dead
78. 不是秃三炮	78. He's not Sanpao.

还长着头发呢 枪也是假的 这小子 胆子还不小 大号 你的	The gun's a fake too
79. 十八里坡这地方周围没什么人家	79. <i>No one else lived near the winery</i>
80. 再加上掌柜的有麻风病	80. <i>And the master was a leper</i>
81. 除了买酒的 很少有人上这来	81. <i>So on one came except to buy wine</i>
82. 新婚三天接闺女是我老家的风俗	82. <i>Grandmother visited her parents three days after the wedding</i>
83. 那天 我奶奶她爹接她回门	83. <i>Her father collected her</i>
84. 你得回来	84. <i>You have to go back to Li</i>
85. 你得回李家来	85. <i>You've no choice</i>
86. 多大的气派	86. <i>He's generous</i>
87. 张口就给咱一头大黑骡子	87. <i>He gave us a mule</i>
88. 你不愿意归不愿意	88. <i>I know you weren't willing</i>
89. <u>你抡什么剪子</u>	89. <u><i>But why take those scissors?</i></u>
90. 你得回来 你得回李家来	90. <i>You have to go back</i>
91. <u>闺女 你跑那么快干啥</u>	91. <u><i>Wait, where are you going?</i></u>
92. 闺女 你一泡尿	92. <i>Hey, why did it take you so long to pee?</i>
93. <u>咋尿了这么老半天</u> <u>你是咋尿的?</u>	93. <u><i>What are you up to?</i></u>
94. 妹妹你大胆地往前走啊	94. <i>"Press on bravely, sweetheart</i>
95. 往前走莫回呀头	95. <i>"Press on, don't turn back</i>
96. 通天的大路, 九千九百	96. <i>"There are 9,990 roads</i>
97. 九千九百九啊	97. <i>"9,990 roads to heaven</i>
98. 妹妹你大胆地往前走啊	98. <i>"Press on bravely, sweatheart</i>
99. 往前走莫回呀头	99. <i>"Press on, don't turn back</i>
100. 从此后 你搭起那红绣楼啊	100. <i>"You'll have a red betrothal stall</i>
101. 抛撒着红绣球啊	101. <i>"To choose a man you throw a ball</i>
102. 正打中我的头啊	102. <i>"On my head it will surely fall</i>
103. 与你喝一壶啊	103. <i>"Then I will drink with you</i>
104. 红红的高粱酒啊	104. <i>"We'll drink red sorghum wine</i>
105. 红红的高粱酒	105. <i>"We'll drink red, red sorghum wine"</i>
106. 唱戏的 你给我出来	106. <i>Come out. Show yourself!</i>
107. 你他妈的 阴不阴阳不阳的	107. <i>What are you playing at?</i>

108. <u>胡唱些什么歪腔邪调</u> <u>邪调歪腔的</u>	108. <u>What filth are you singing?</u>
109. 妹妹你大胆地往前走啊	109. "Press on bravely, sweetheart
110. 往前走，莫回呀头	110. "Press on, don't turn back"
111. <u>你逞啥能，不吃饭，</u>	111. <u>What's wrong? Don't sulk</u>
112. <u>想成仙呐</u>	112. <u>Do you want to starve?</u>
113. 掉到福窝窝里 还整天五迷三道地转不过来	113. You've been frowning all day
114. 你看人家李家给咱一头大黑骡子 回去好好过日子	114. Big Head Li gave us a mule. Make the most of it
115. 往后看呐，李家的财产都归你	115. You'll inherit his property in due time
116. <u>人活一世 图个啥</u>	116. <u>What more do you want?</u>
117. 嫁了人，死活都是李家的人了	117. You belong to him now
118. 快吃 吃完给我回去	118. Eat up, and go back.
119. 我走，我走	119. I'm going, I'm going
120. 你不是我爹，我没你这样的爹	120. You're not my father
121. 你就想拿我换一头大黑骡子	121. You just want that mule
122. 你跟你的骡子过去吧	122. Go and live with your mule
123. 我走 我走 我再也不回来了	123. I'm going, and I won't come back
124. 狗杂种 想不认你爹 没那么便宜	124. Want to get rid of me?
125. <u>我和你娘弄出你来</u> <u>容易吗</u>	125. <u>Don't think you were easy</u> <u>to bring up</u>
126. <u>就在我奶奶骂她爹的时</u> <u>十八里坡已经出了事</u>	126. <i>When my Grandma was cursing her</i> <i>father;</i> <i>something happened at the winery</i>
127. 李大头给人杀了	127. <i>Big Head Li was killed</i>
128. 究竟是谁干的一直弄不清楚	128. <i>No one ever knew who did it</i>
129. 我总觉得这事像是我爷爷干的	129. <i>I've always felt that it was</i> <i>my grandfather</i>
130. 可直到他老人家去世 也没问过他	130. <i>But I never asked him</i>
131. 大壮二壮 咱还是走算了 哪都混饭吃	131. We'd better leave, we'll be better off somewhere else
132. 这麻风院，本来就邪气 娶了个女人，事儿就没断过	132. This leper place is evil, and worse since he married
	133. It's weird, the master

133.这事是够邪的 一点动静都没有 老掌柜就不见了	Disappeared without a sign
134.大门二门都锁得好好的	134. The doors were bolted
135.那烟袋锅 还撂在炕上呢	135. His pipe was still on the bed
136.听说 在青沙桥底下 还捡了一只鞋呢	136. And they found a shoe under Qingsha Bridge
137.他八成给人弄死了	137. Maybe he's been killed
138.只要沾了青沙口, 那就说不清了	138. In Qingshakou who knows?
139.前两天县上来了几个人	139. Some government men came
140.查了三天 连个影都没见着 这到底谁干的	140. They found no trace of him Who the hell did it?
141.这老家伙没积什么德	141. Li was no good
142.反正是仇家干的	142. It must have been an enemy of his
143.你看人家是没砸箱子 没撬锁	143. He didn't steal anything
144.要的是他的命	144. He just wanted him dead
145.这娘们 也不省油	145. That woman's a troublemaker
146. <u>你没看太平了几天</u>	146. <u>She has been ever since she came</u>
147.自打抬轿那天 她就和轿行里的轿子头 眉来眼去的	147. The day she came, she took a fancy to the sedan carrier
148. <u>管那么多干嘛</u>	148. <u>It's none of our business</u>
149.咱还是明天早起收拾收拾东西走 少惹事, 少生非	149. We'll leave tomorrow, let's keep out of trouble
150.进来了啊 进来吧	150. - Hello - Come in
151.还没穿裤子呢	151. I haven't got my trousers on
152. <u>二楞子爹呀, 你怎么还喝呢</u>	152. <u>What? Are you still drinking?</u>
153.嗨, 又管上了啊 快回屋睡觉 去	153. --Nagging again? --Go back to sleep
154.我刚才看见那女人一个人坐在院子里	154. Listen, I've just seen that woman out in the yard
155.黑咕隆咚的 怪吓人的	155. It's dark, she scared me.
156.是吗, 让她搬过来住算了 你个老没正经住我这儿	156. Let her move in here
157.她不敢进屋, 怕染上病, 怪可怜的	157. She daren't go in, she's scared of getting ill, poor thing
	158. Mistress! Mistress!

158. 掌柜的？	159. Sorghum wine kills all germs. Take care of yourself
159. 这高粱酒能消千病百毒 掌柜的小心在意	160. Don't go. I've something to say
160. 大家先别走我有话要说，	161. We mustn't abandon the winery
161. 咱这烧酒锅不能散伙	162. Brother Luohan
162. 罗汉大哥	163. You've been here a long time, you know how to do everything
163. 罗汉大哥，你在李家的日子久了 凡事还得您多张罗着	164. I'm a woman, please help me
164. 我一个女人家全仗大家伙帮忙了	165. If you're really not willing, I won't force you to stay
165. 要是实在有不愿意干的， 想走也不强留	166. I'll pay the month's wages
166. 这个月的工钱照发	167. You'll be welcome back any time
167. 日后想回来还是咱烧酒锅上的人	168. Why don't you all stay?
168. 我说，你们还是留下吧	169. If we succeed, you'll get a share
169. 咱这买卖办成了 人人都有一份	170. What d'you say?
170. 你们看成吗？	171. Let's do as the Mistress says
171. 好，那就不走了 对，不走了，不走了 听掌柜的 别走了 听掌柜的	172. Don't call me Mistress
172. 往后别再喊我掌柜的	173. I'm from a poor family too. We're all equals
173. 我也是穷人家的 咱这烧酒锅上没大小	174. I'm the ninth child, and I was born on the ninth of the nine month
174. 我在家排行老九，是九月初九那天生 的	175. Everyone calls me Little Nine. You can too
175. 人家都叫我九儿 你们也叫我九儿吧	176. Little Nine
176. 九儿	177. Little Nine
177. 九儿	178. <u>Mistress, let's clean the courtyard</u>
178. 掌柜的今儿个是不是把这院子收拾收 拾	179. We didn't dare go in before, we were afraid of getting ill
179. 这后院原先大伙不敢进 怕染上病，咱们也清洗清洗	180. Now you're the boss, give us your orders
180. 往后 你就是当家的了 你就吩咐吧	181. Yes, give us your orders
181. 是呀，你吩咐吧 吩咐吧，九儿	182. All right then... I will
182. 那好，	183. We'll take three days' holiday to clean the house
183. 今天明天后天 烧锅停火三天大家伙帮 我清扫房屋	184. Everything the master touched

184. 凡是老掌柜用过的摸过的能烧的就烧 不能烧的就埋	must be burned or buried
185. 罗汉大哥, 你叫人买些石灰来 把这后院整个刷一遍	185. Luohan, buy some lime. We'll paint the place
186. 再用高粱酒把这十八里坡整个泼上三 遍	186. We'll pour sorghum wine everywhere
187. <u>大哥, 您不是说高粱酒能消千病百毒 吗?</u>	187. <u>Didn't you say it kills germs?</u>
188. 今儿个咱就用高粱酒 杀杀霉气	188. Let's disinfect with wine
189. 这钥匙已经用酒烧了三遍了	189. The key's been cleaned with wine
190. 我的家产就是你的家产, 你就拿着吧	190. What's mine is yours. You keep it
191. 就是在高粱地里头	191. We were in the sorghum together
192. 我自己能, 我自己能走 我告诉你 你记不住 没听清嘛	192. Leave me, I can manage
193. 再说说 后来怎么着	193. And then what happened?
194.	194. I told you, we were in the sorghum
195.	195. And then what?
196. 后来我把高粱铺平了	196. I trampled the sorghum
197. 她就躺下了	197. She lay down
198. 躺下我就 我就痛快了	198. Then...I was happy
199. 行了你们别跟他叫了 快出去吧	199. Leave him alone
200. 对 听这爷们的话 都出去	200. He's right, you must go
201. 你们就送这吧	201. I'm almost home, you go away
202. 这离家不远了 我一会就进去了 让你上那边那屋	202. I'm going in
203. 我在这屋睡觉	203. I'll sleep in that room
204. 我从今天开始天天在这屋睡觉 这是我的屋	204. I'll sleep there from now on. It's my room
205. <u>这是掌柜的屋</u> <u>掌柜的? 谁他妈是掌柜的?</u>	205. <u>- It's the Mistress's.</u> <u>- What "Mistress"?</u>
206. <u>你说的是他妈李大头啊</u>	206. <u>Damn Big Head Li</u>
207. <u>李大头算他妈什么东西</u> 他活着我也不怕	207. <u>He was nothing.</u> <u>I was never scared of him.</u>
208. 我告诉你 她是我的媳妇 我的	208. She's my wife! Mine!
209. 再说 她喜欢我	209. What's more, she likes me.
210. 在高粱地里她就说了 她自己跟我说 她喜欢我	210. That's what she told me in the sorghum
	211. <u>Isn't that right?</u>



211.对不对 你自己跟我说的 喜欢我	You told me you liked me
212.她是装的	212. She's pretending
213.她想让我进去	213. She wants me to go in
214.都回去吧 回去吧	214. Go away
215.这人喝多了把他拖出来	215. He's drunk. Take him away
216.她提了裤子不认人 拉到这儿 摁住 摁住 摁住 你这小娘们 脱了裤子还行	216. It was all right when you had your trousers off
217.提了裤子你就不认我 他妈的 我得上屋里睡觉去 你们放开我 我困了	217. Now they're on, you don't know me
218.再让你胡说 再说...	218. I'll teach you to say it again!
219.舒服舒服	219. That's nice, very nice
220.掌柜的 消消气 消消气	220. Calm down, Mistress
221.快 快 把人抬走	221. Get him out of here
222.我还没说完话我得说完 我不能走 我来一趟不容易 孩子他娘 把行李拿来	222. I'm not finished yet
223.我出不来气啊 别盖上我 让我出来	223. Don't cover it, I'll suffocate
224.三炮来了	224. It's Sanpao!
225.李大头睡过你了	225. Did Li sleep with you?
226.睡了	226. Yes
227.妈的	227. Damn
228.我爷爷在缸里一躺就是三天	228. <i>Grandfather lay in the vat for three days</i>
229.秃三炮绑走了我奶奶	229. <i>Sanpao took my grandmother away</i>
230.当时就撂下话说是得马上拿钱去赎人	230. <i>He sent word that he wanted a ransom for her</i>
231.要是拿不出钱 就得到青沙桥上抬死人	231. <i>If he didn't get it, he would kill her</i>
232.九儿回来了 九儿回来了 回来了 快走 快走 罗汉大哥 你回来了 没事吧 九儿 九儿	232. Little Nine is back!
233.掌柜的 来斤酒	233. Give me a drink
234.有会出气的没有	234. Are you dead?
235.拿什么下酒? 就有牛头	235. - What have you got to eat? - Ox head
236.我想吃牛肉 就牛头	236. - I want steak - There's only ox head
237.好 牛头就牛头	237. Hell! Ox head, then

238. 爷爷我要吃牛肉	238. I want steak
239. 吃就吃不吃就滚	239. If you don't want it, get out
240. 你他妈敢骂我	240. How dare you?
241. 我今儿还非吃牛肉不可	241. I must have steak today
242. 你安稳地坐着吧 后生 你也配吃牛肉	242. Sit quiet, will you? You really want steak?
243. 牛肉是给三炮留的	243. The steak is for Sanpao.
244. 一块大洋 就仨铜板	244. - One silver coin - I've only 3 pence
245. 一块大洋 爷爷就仨铜板	245. - One silver coin - I've only 3 pence
246. 后生 你来吃翘食啊	246. What? You don't want to pay?
247. 不要拉倒 你等等	247. - It's this or nothing - Wait! Stop!
248. 等等 干什么? 干什么 胡二 怎么了?	248. What are you doing?
249. 当家的遇上一个吃翘食的	249. Boss, this fellow here doesn't want to pay
250. 割他的舌头下酒	250. Cut his tongue out
251. 二位 我刚才多喝了点酒... 跟老掌柜的闹着玩的	251. Sorry, I was drunk. I was only joking
252. 那好 留你条舌头好跟女人亲嘴	252. OK, keep your tongue for kissing
253. 去 给我们当家的磕三个响头 要响 去不去 去...	253. Kowtow to our boss
254. 跪下	254. Kneel!
255. 也不打听打听敢跟这儿闹事	255. How dare you make trouble here?
256. 来哥俩喝 多喝点	256. Have another drink
257. 神三爷你饶了...饶了我吧	257. Forgive me, forgive me
258. 小的我有眼无珠冒犯了您老人家 我刚才才是喝多了点跟老掌柜闹着玩的	258. I'm sorry I offended you. I was very drunk
259. 下回不敢了 不敢了	259. I won't do it again
260. 别动 动我就宰了他 别动 都别动	260. Don't move or I'll kill him
261. 兄弟 我跟你无冤无仇	261. We're not enemies
262. 你他妈坏了我的女人 你的女人?	262. - You've ruined my woman - Your woman?
263. 烧酒锅上的女人?	263. - The woman from the winery? - That's right

<p>对 你坏了她</p> <p>264.没有 我就问她要 3000 块大洋 胡说</p> <p>265.没有 麻风动过的女人我不沾</p> <p>266.兄弟 你不信 割了我的脑袋</p> <p>267.慢着 当家的 这小子不在帮 煮了他算了</p> <p>268.在这打死他 脏了我的肉铺</p> <p>269.往门口走啊你小子怕死</p> <p>270.秃三炮 你不仗义</p> <p>271.我刚才没宰了你 饶了你一条命 你他妈倒冲我下黑手</p> <p>272.这几天 多亏了罗汉大哥东挪西凑到处 张罗着</p> <p>273.人总算是平平安安地回来了</p> <p>274.掌柜的 大安了吧</p> <p>275.今儿个是九月初九</p> <p>276.照老规矩 咱们烧锅上生火</p> <p>277.您不去看看 散散心 也压压惊</p> <p>278.也好 来烧锅这么些日子了 还真没见过</p> <p>279.罗汉大哥往后别老喊我掌柜的 就你一人老改不了</p> <p>280.是 掌柜的</p> <p>281.伙计们 掌柜的来了 挡严实点儿</p> <p>282.谁还不知道谁嘛</p> <p>283.孩子他爹 你们穿好了啊</p> <p>284.这是烧酒锅</p> <p>285.大号 水怎么样了 还差点</p> <p>286.你看这个 这个是出酒甑</p> <p>287.酒气啊 从上面下来 凉水一激 酒啊 就从这儿流出来了</p>	<p>264. – I only did it for money - Rubbish</p> <p>265. I wouldn't touch a leper's woman</p> <p>266. Brother, kill me if you don't believe me</p> <p>267. He isn't in a gang, kill him</p> <p>268. I don't want to dirty the shop</p> <p>269. Move to the door. Afraid to die?</p> <p>270. Ungrateful wretch!</p> <p>271. I spared you before. Now you want to kill me</p> <p>272. Luohan had to borrow the money to get you freed</p> <p>273. At least you're back safely</p> <p>274. Mistress, are you better?</p> <p>275. Today is the ninth of the ninth</p> <p>276. It's time to light the fires</p> <p>277. Come and watch. It will do you good</p> <p>278. Yes. I've been here a long time but I've never seen it done</p> <p>279. Luohan, please do me a favour. Don't call Mistress</p> <p>280. Yes, Mistress</p> <p>281. The Mistress is coming. Cover yourself up</p> <p>282. But we all know each other</p> <p>283. Come on, cover up</p> <p>284. This is the pot</p> <p>285. – How's the water doing? - A bit more</p> <p>286. This is the vat for the wine</p> <p>287. We chill it with cold water, and the wine flows from here</p> <p>288. Please, let me try</p>
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288.大壮二壮 让我来试试 来 你试试	289. So heavy!
289.真沉啊	290. Sit down. Little Nine.
290.九儿 坐	291. I want to see how the sorghum turns to wine
291.今儿个 我要看看 红高粱怎么 变成高粱酒	292. – Cold water! - In here
292.凉水 凉水来了	293. More heat!
293.加火	294. Cold water!
294.加凉水 凉水要来喽	295. More heat!
295.加底火	296. The new wine!
296.祭新酒	297. To the Wine God
297.敬酒神	298. “On the ninth of the ninth
298.九月九酿新酒	299. “Good wine from our labour
299.好酒出在咱的手	300. “Good wine
300.好酒 好酒 好酒	301. “If you drink our wine
301.喝了咱的酒	302. “You breath well, you won’t cough
302.上下通气不咳嗽	303. “If you drink our wine
303.喝了咱的酒	304. “You’ll be well, you breath won’t smell
304.滋阴壮阳嘴不臭	305. “If you drink our wine
305.喝了咱的酒	306. “You will dare travel alone...
306.一人敢走	307. “...through Qingshakou
307.青沙口	308. “If you drink our wine
308.喝了咱的酒	309. “You won’t kotow to the Emperor
309.见了皇帝不磕头	310. “One, four, seven, three, six, nine
310.一四七 三六九	311. “On the ninth of the ninth, you’ll go with me
311.九九归一跟我走	312. “Good wine
312.好酒...	313. “Good wine! Good wine!”
313.好酒...好酒...	314. Mistress, try your new wine
314.掌柜的 尝尝您家的新酒吧 喝一碗新酒吧	315. – Drink it all - Yes, right down
315.要喝啊 全喝了	316. Drink it down

316.喝吧	317. - You know how to drink - No, I don't
317.九儿 你真行啊 我不会喝酒	318. - <u>You'll soon down a whole barrel</u> - <u>Yes, like you</u>
318. <u>还不会喝酒要是练练啊 能喝一壶啊</u> <u>谁像你啊</u>	319. Great! This looks fun!
319.哎 痛快	320. What fun. What fun.
320.痛快 痛快	321. <u>So you're here</u>
321. <u>你过来了</u>	322. What fun
322.真痛快呀	323. Try the new wine
323.喝碗新酒吧	324. What are you doing?
324.你干什么?	325. I'll empty the pot for you
325.你看着 我给你出甑	326. <i>When grandfather pissed in the jars,</i> <i>he did it to be mean</i>
326.我爷爷往酒篓子里撒尿 这本来是恶作剧	327. <i>But strange as it might seem...</i>
327.可说来也怪	328. <i>...the wine turned out good</i>
328.这几篓子酒倒成了好酒	329. Mistress!
329.掌柜的 掌柜的 大喜了	330. Mistress! Good news!
330.掌柜的 大喜啊	331. Oh, it's you
331.是罗汉大哥	332. Thank you
332.同喜同喜	333. Mistress. Good news
333.掌柜的 大喜了	334. The wine' OK
334.酒成了	335. I've been here ten years...
335.我在烧锅上十几年	336. ...and I've never seen such good wine
336.从来没酿过这么好的酒	337. Mistress, give it a name
337.掌柜的 给酒起个名吧	338. It's got to have a name
338.人记姓 酒记名啊	339. This place is Eighteen Mile Slope
339.咱这地界叫十八里坡	340. Call it 'Eighteen Mile Red'
340.就叫它十八里红吧	341. The 'Eighteen Mile Red' is at your door. Little Nine
341.九儿 十八里红搁在门口了	342. <i>Luohan left that night</i>
342.我罗汉爷爷当天夜里就走了	343. <i>nine years has passed</i>
343.一晃九年	344. <i>'Eighteen Mile Red' became famous</i>

344. 我们家的十八里红出了名	345. <i>My father was nine years old</i>
345. 我爹也九岁了	346. <i>They say he was conceived in the sorghum</i>
346. 人们都说我爹 是高粱地里出的野种	347. <i>You know what old Graanny Wang said</i>
347. 那回老家 99 岁的王奶奶见着我还说	348. <i>1 mu of land yields 900 pounds 8 of 10 bastards turn out bums</i>
348. 一亩高粱九担半 十个野种九个混蛋	349. Mummy! Mummy!
349. 娘...	350. Mummy!
350. 娘...	351. Luohan!
351. 罗汉大哥 罗汉大哥	352. It was Luohan
352. 是罗汉大哥	353. <i>The Japanese came</i>
353. 日本人说来就来	354. <i>They came to build a road</i>
354. 那年七月日本人修公路修到了青沙口	355. – Tell the bastards to hurry – Yes, Sir
355.	356. Be quick, the soldiers are hungry
356.	357. Tell the old man to flay him
357.	358. You're very skilful
358. 手艺不错啊	359. Thank you
359. 长官过奖 长官过奖	360. The Commander says so too
360. 太君也夸你的手艺不错啊	361. Very kind of him
361. 马马虎虎 马马虎虎 胡乱混口饭吃	362. He wants you to flay another
362. 太君说了剥一个不过瘾想让你再剥一个	363. All right
363. 成成	364. <u>That one. Over there</u>
364. 看哪儿 那儿	365. <u>What are you staring? Flay him</u>
365. 看什么 去把他的皮剥了	366. I'm sure you're joking
366. 长官 您可真会开玩笑	367. <u>Not at all. Flay him</u>
367. 谁跟你开玩笑 去 把他的皮剥了	368. <u>What are you hesitating? Do it!</u>
368. 快去 还愣着干什么 去	369. No, I can't. Don't make me
369. 不行 长官 不行 长官您饶了我吧	370. Tell him to get on with it
370. 太君说了	371. If you don't do it, they'll kill you
371. 你要不好好剥 就开了你的膛	372. Listen, everybody!

372.大家听着	373. You've trampled the sorghum
373.你们高粱也踩了	374. Now you'll learn a lesson
374.现在 再让你们开开眼	375. Watch this man flayed
375.看一看剥人皮	376. That man hanging there
376.上面吊着的这个人	377. Can you all see clearly?
377.你们都看清楚了	378. If any of you oppose us, this will happen to you
378.谁要是再和皇军作对 这就是下场	379. It's Sanpao.
379.秃三炮	380. Hurry up!
380.	381. Make it quick
381.给我个痛快吧	382. I won't forget you when I'm in hell
382.黄泉之下不忘	383. <u>What are you waiting for?</u>
383.啰嗦什么呢	384. The cold water makes it easier
384.这凉水一激 他好弄	385. A real professional
385.挺内行的	386. You won't get out of this one, boss
386.当家的 这回你是过不了这一关	387. There's nothing I can do
387.我胡二也是没法子	388. Dog!
388.狗	389. Japanese dog!
389.日本人的狗	390. Ungrateful wretch!
390.翻脸不认人	391. You dog!
391.狗狗	392. Screw you Japs!
392.我操你们祖宗	393. No, not me. I can't
393.饶了我吧 大爷 我不敢 大爷...	394. Dammit, you will
394.一定要活剥了他	395. You'll flay him alive
395.你他妈给我快去	396. Take the knife
396.把刀给我拿好	397. <u>Flay him! D'you hear me?</u>
397. <u>一定要剥了他的皮你听见没有?</u> 饶了你	398. Flay him, or I'll flay you
398.你今儿不剥了他 就剥了你	399. He said if you don't do it, he'll flay you
399.太君说了 你今天要是不动手 就剥了你的皮 听见没有?	400. It's Luohan.
快 快点动手	401. Try to bear this, brother
400.罗汉大哥	

401.饶了我吧...	402. Try to bear this
你忍着点吧 大哥	
402.你忍着点吧 大哥	403. Quick!
403.快	404. Do it!
404.下刀	405. <i>They say Luohan was a Communist</i>
405.据我老家的人说我罗汉爷爷是当了共产党	406. <i>He was sent to organize against the Japanese</i>
406.受指派 收编各路地方武装一同抗日	407. <i>I've read the County records</i>
407.我看过县志 县志载	408. <i>The Japs rounded up 400, 000 men to build the "highway"</i>
408.日军抓民夫累积 40 万人次修筑漳平公路	409. <i>They destroyed fields and killed thousands of people</i>
409.毁家河无数杀人逾千	410. <i>Luohan was flayed by the Japs</i>
410.刘罗汉在青沙口前被日军剥皮凌隔示众	411. <i>He showed no fear at all</i>
411.刘面无惧色	412. <i>He went on cursing them to his very last breath</i>
412.骂不绝口至死方休	413. Douguan. Kneel!
413.豆信儿 跪下	414. This is Luohan's 'Eighteen Mile Red'
414.这是你罗汉大叔酿的十八里红	415. Kowtow
415.磕头	416. Drink it
416.喝酒	417. If you're men, drink it
417.是男人 把这酒喝了	418. Attach the Japanese at dawn. Avenge Brother Luohan!
418.天亮把日本人汽车打了给罗汉大哥报仇	419. "On the ninth of the ninth
419.九月九 酿新酒	420. "Good wine from our labour
420.好酒出在咱的手	421. "Good wine
421.好酒	422. "If you drink our wine
422.喝了咱的酒啊	423. "You breath well, you won't cough
423.上下通气不咳嗽	424. "If you drink our wine
424.喝了咱的酒	425. "You'll be well, your breath won't smell
425.滋阴壮阳嘴不臭	426. "If you drink our wine
426.喝了咱的酒啊	427. "You'll dare go alone through Qingshakou
427.一人敢走青沙口	



428.喝了咱的酒啊	428. "If you drink our wine
429.见了皇帝不磕头	429. "You won't kowtow to the Emperor
430.一四七 三六九	430. "One, four, seven, three, six, nine
431.九九归一跟我走	431. "On the ninth of the ninth, you'll go with me
432.好酒好酒好酒	432. "Good wine. Good wine. Good wine"
433.豆信儿 过来	433. Douguan, come here
434.干啥?	434. What is it?
435.撒尿	435. Piss
436.大号 待会儿打起来你使劲吹喇叭	436. When we attack, blow the trumpet
437.我就会吹大麻点翻翻眼 打起仗来 吹个什么调啊?	437. I only know one tune. What do I play when we attach?
438.这就行 只要有个动静	438. That one will do
439.东洋人怕响器 待会儿你使劲吹越响越好	439. The Japs are afraid of noise. Blow as hard as you can
440.汽车来了 汽车来了	440. The trucks are coming
441.别光顾睡觉 小心你这家伙放不响	441. Don't go to sleep. Make sure the cannon's ready
442.装了双份药 不信它不响	442. I've put loads of powder in
443.我爹跟我说过 自打看见了那天的太阳	443. <i>My father told me that after he looked at the sun that day...</i>
444.他的眼睛就落下了病	444. <i>...his eyes got worse and worse</i>
445.不论看什么都是红的	445. <i>Everything was red</i>
446.那年我回老家时青沙口的桥还在	446. <i>The bridge is still there today</i>
447.只是没了高粱	447. <i>But there's no shorghum now</i>
448.娘 娘 娘	448. Mummy!
449.仗打完了 没有	449. - Is the fight over? - No
450.那你爹他们呢	450. Where are they?
451.我爹他们在睡觉我爹他们肚子饿了	451. Sleeping. They're hungry
452.娘	452. Mummy!
453.娘	453. Mummy!
454.孩儿他娘 娘	454. Run away!

455.点炮 快放炮	455. Fire it! Quick!
456.二壮 二壮	456. Dazhuang! Erzhuang!
457.炮没响	457. Did it explode?
458.伙计们 快给我上啊 快啊	458. Follow me, men
459.爹...爹...	459. Daddy! Daddy!
460.爹...爹..	460. Daddy! Daddy!
461.妹妹你大胆地往前走啊	461. "Press on bravely, sweetheart
462.往前走	462. "Press on
463.莫回呀头	463. "Don't turn back
464.从此后 你搭起那红绣楼啊	464. "You'll have a red betrothal stall
465.抛撒着红绣球啊	465. "To choose a man you'll throw a ball
466.正打中我的头啊	466. "And on my head it'll surely fall
467.与你喝一壶啊	467. "Then I will drink with you
468.红红的高粱酒啊	468. "We'll drink red sorghum wine
469.红红的高粱酒	469. "Red, red sorghum wine"
470.爹 你看 你看	470. Daddy! Look!
471.娘 娘 上西南	471. "Mummy, Mummy, go south-west
472.宽宽的大路 长长的宝船	472. "A broad road, a long treasure ship
473.娘 娘 上西南	473. "Mummy, Mummy, go south-west
474.溜溜的骏马 足足的盘缠	474. "A strong horse, and plenty of money
475.娘 娘 上西南	475. "Mummy, Mummy, go south-west
476.你甜处安身 你苦处化钱	476. "Live in weath, with money for hard times"

## Appendix 2 *Ju Dou* Corpus

Source Text	Target Text
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 菊豆</li> <li>2. 20年代，中国某山区 编剧：刘恒 主演：巩俐 李保田 李纬 导演：张艺谋 杨凤良 杨家染坊</li> <li>3. 叔</li> <li>4. <u>才回来啊</u></li> <li>5. 兵荒马乱的 <u>怎么没死在外边儿啊</u></li> <li>6. 这是多少啊？ 你数吧</li> <li>7. 二赖子</li> <li>8. 天青，回来了</li> <li>9. 明天你不用来了，啊</li> <li>10. 这几个月</li> <li>11. 就靠二赖子帮点忙，不敢多接活</li> <li>12. 那马怎么看着瘦了</li> <li>13. 去吧， 明儿早点起来干活儿</li> <li>14. <u>天青，你怎么才回来啊</u></li> <li>15. 我都替你干了三个多月了</li> <li>16. 外面太乱，</li> <li>17. 想回回不来么</li> <li>18. 你看这手</li> <li>19. 黑得像爪子</li> <li>20. 才给这点儿 老东西</li> <li>21. 唉，你叔新买了个女人 见到吗？</li> <li>22. 看见喜字了</li> <li>23. 叫菊豆，长得那叫好看哩</li> <li>24. 唉！花大价钱啦</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1.</li> <li>2. 1920's - A mountainous area of China. Yang Family Dyers.</li> <li>3. Good afternoon, Uncle.</li> <li>4. <u>Back now?</u></li> <li>5. -There was constant fighting out there. <u>-So why are you still alive?</u></li> <li>6. -How much is it? -Count it.</li> <li>7. Erlaizi!</li> <li>8. Tianqing, you are back.</li> <li>9. Don't bother to come tomorrow.</li> <li>10. The past few months...</li> <li>11. Erlaizi has been helping me out.</li> <li>12. Why does the horse look so thin?</li> <li>13. Go and rest. You'll have to start work early tomorrow.</li> <li>14. <u>What took you so long to get back?</u></li> <li>15. I had to cover for you the past three months.</li> <li>16. It was chaotic.</li> <li>17. There was no way through the skirmishes.</li> <li>18. Look at my hands.</li> <li>19. They're like black claws.</li> <li>20. That old miser pays me next to nothing for it.</li> <li>21. Your uncle bought himself a woman. I have seen her.</li> <li>22. I noticed the wedding charms.</li> <li>23. She's called Judou, pretty-looking too.</li> <li>24. She cost him a fortune.</li> </ol>

25. 你说这老东西	25. Your uncle is a real bastard.
26. 你头俩婶子怎么死的	26. How do you think your last two aunts died?
27. 还不都叫他折腾死的	27. He tortured them to death.
28. 也没留下一儿半女	28. They never gave him children.
29. 活该啊!	29. It serves him right.
30. 夜里头, 你就支起耳朵来听吧	30. Listen carefully at night.
31. 你新婶子那个调调	31. You'll hear your new aunt's screams.
32. 宰了你 我今天受不了了	32. Please spare me for a few days.
33. <u>随你?</u>	33. <u>Spare you?</u>
34. 我杨家迟早断在你手里	34. And sacrifice my bloodline?
35. 你个没用的东西	35. You, barren bitch.
36. 去, 叫你婶儿下来	36. Go tell your aunt to come down here.
37. 婶子, 我叔叫你下去	37. Aunt, my uncle wants you.
38. 拉拉尿尿的, 好不是亲娘呐 你早该下来了	38. You're finally here.
39. 老子花钱不能买个白吃饭的	39. I didn't spend all that money for a lazy woman.
40. 杨坊! 老杨头!	40. Old Yang.
41. 这些可是老刘家急着用的啊 染两匹枣黑	41. Rush order: 2 bolts of cotton in bright red.
42. 5 匹金黄啊!	42. 5 in golden yellow.
43. 误不了	43. Ok, no problem.
44. 26 斤 7 两	44. 267 lbs.
45. 老杨头 <u>你这一大摊子不添个帮手</u>	45. <u>You've got so much work here</u> <u>that you should have some more hands.</u>
46. 添人添开销	46. Then I'd have to spend more money.
47. 有天青就行了	47. No, Tianqing can handle it.
48. 天青小 40 的人了, 也该给他娶个女人了	48. Tianqing is almost 40. You should find him a woman.
49. 他吃了我 30 多年了, 再添一个呀	49. He's been living off me for 30 years. Why take on another mouth to feed?
50. 添个帮手啊	50. You'd have one more worker.
51. 过两年再说吧	51. Maybe in a few years.

52. 花不了你多少钱	52. She wouldn't cost you much.
53. <u>天青还不跟你亲儿子一样</u>	53. <u>Isn't Tianqing like a son to you?</u>
54. 儿子, 屁话, <u>他身上有我的血啊?</u>	54. A son? <u>He doesn't have my blood in him.</u>
55. <u>他爹娘死后, 不是我看在邻居的份上</u> <u>收养了他</u> <u>他能活得到今天?</u>	55. <u>I only took him in when his parents</u> <u>died,</u> <u>because of the neighbors' gossip.</u>
56. <u>我儿子能这么一德性</u>	56. <u>How could my son be so stupid?</u>
57. 你轻点, 狗日的 染花了我饶不了你	57. Watch out you idiot, there'll be no mercy if you ruin the cloth.
58. 天青, 染料要拌匀, 省点用	58. Make the dye even. Don't use too much.
59. 老子花钱了, 得听老子的	59. I paid for you, so follow orders.
60. 买头牲口要骑要打随老子高兴	60. If I buy a beast, I can ride it or beat it at my pleasure.
61. <u>你算个什么? 一样!</u> <u>这舒坦吗?</u>	61. <u>Do you think you are any different?</u>
62. 听话吧, 生了儿子我给你当牛做马	62. If you are obedient and give birth to a son, I'll be your ox, your horse.
63. 不听话我抽死你	63. If not, I'll whip you to death.
64. 天青	64. Tianqing!
65. 天青, 干什么呢?	65. Where the hell are you?
66. 快一点!	66. Get up here!
67. 来了	67. I'm coming!
68. 太阳都多高了 唉, 来了, 来了 快点	68. The sun rose hours ago.
69. 一辈子没出息, 都学会偷懒了	69. You've learned nothing but laziness.
70. 叫也叫不动了	70. You don't follow orders.
71. 这几匹布费工不少, 多要些工钱 得学着讨价,	71. We worked over-time on this order. So ask for a higher price, haggle.
72. 别干赔本买卖	72. We don't want to lose money.
73. 住店捡便宜点的啊	73. Try to find cheap lodgings.
74. 别挣得不多花得不少	74. I don't want you spending a lot and producing so little.
75. 我牵牲口去  铃儿铃儿铛铛响	75. I'll go get the donkey.

<p>一步走到了王家庄 王家庄上...</p> <p>76. <u>金山大哥，买个灯笼啊？</u></p> <p>77. 儿孙满堂啊 图个吉利</p> <p>78. <u>这么快就回来了</u></p> <p>79. 啊！婶子，你脸怎么啦？</p> <p>80. 私下不长眼，跌了一跤</p> <p>81. 你叔他在家杀猪呢</p> <p>82. 8月15了，祭月亮</p> <p>83. 婶子，你胳膊上也有伤</p> <p>84. 这跤跌得，让人笑话了</p> <p>85. 走，回去吧</p> <p>86. 看你瘦得， 这下能有肉吃了</p> <p>87. 你听听，那猪在哭它的命</p> <p>88. <u>奶奶，舒坦了吧？这回你可舒坦了吧</u></p> <p>89. 我活不了了！</p> <p>90.</p> <p>91. 谁！谁呀！</p> <p>92. 是我</p> <p>93. 是天青吗？</p> <p>94. 是我</p> <p>95. 牲口喂了？</p> <p>96. 喂了，婶子病了吗？</p> <p>97. 没什么，心口痛， 饭吃得不合适</p> <p>98. 别是急症吧 我到黄桃找李大仙看看，小心耽误了</p> <p>99. 不忙，不忙，这阵子踏实呢</p> <p>100. 我去睡了</p> <p>101. 睡吧</p>	<p>76. <u>You bought fertility lanterns.</u></p> <p>77. -They'll light the way for your grandsons. -Hope they'll bring me good luck.</p> <p>78. <u>You are back so soon.</u></p> <p>79. Aunt, how did you hurt your face?</p> <p>80. I'm nearly blind and I fell.</p> <p>81. Your uncle is a butchering a pig.</p> <p>82. For the festival of the moon.</p> <p>83. Your arm is bruised too.</p> <p>84. I tripped. It's a joke.</p> <p>85. Let's go back.</p> <p>86. You are getting thin, but soon we'll have a feast to fatten us up.</p> <p>87. Listen, the pig is screaming for his life.</p> <p>88. <u>Are you comfortable?</u></p> <p>89. I can't bear this anymore.</p> <p>90. Enjoying it.</p> <p>91. Who's there?</p> <p>92. It's me.</p> <p>93. Tianqing.</p> <p>94. Yes, it's me.</p> <p>95. Did you feed the horse?</p> <p>96. Yes. Is aunt hurt?</p> <p>97. Nothing serious, just a stomachache. Maybe she ate something bad.</p> <p>98. I can go get old Witch Li. We shouldn't take any chances.</p> <p>99. That's ok, she feels better now.</p> <p>100. I'll go to sleep then.</p> <p>101. Ok.</p>
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102. 刚才什么东西响? 吓人一跳	102. What was that noise just now? It scared me.
103. <u>黑灯瞎火的, 谁知道呢?</u>	103. <u>It's pitch black out here...who knows.</u>
104. 婶子, 怎么啦?	104. Aunt, what's wrong?
105. 天青, 我把话先撩给你 你叔他迟早杀了我	105. Tianqing, your uncle's going to end up killing me.
106. 这日子没法过了	106. I can't take it any more.
107. 就让老东西杀了我吧 你别拦他	107. Let him do it. Don't try to stop him.
108. 我也不指望活了	108. I don't want to live like this anymore.
109. 我叔他脾气不好	109. My uncle's got a bad temper.
110. <u>他可算个人,</u> <u>你叔他可算个人?</u>	110. <u>He's not human.</u> <u>Your uncle's not a man.</u>
111. 天青, 我实话告诉你吧	111. I'll tell you the truth.
112. 老东西他有病, 他不行, 他就往死里折腾我	112. He has a disease. He's impotent, so he tortures me.
113. 我实在受不了了 我受不了了	113. I can't take anymore. I can't stand it.
114. 一路上没饿着吧	114. Did it eat enough on the way here?
115. 一天三顿, 夜里还添回草	115. 3 feeds a day and another at night.
116. 怕是“脚长沙”呀	116. I'm afraid it's dry cholera.
117. 老张家染翠绿, 崔掌柜是桃红	117. Zhang wants the green one, Old Cui wants the pink.
118. 布已经送来了 烧时少废柴火	118. The cloth has been sent over. Don't use too much wood.
119. 知道了	119. I know.
120. 回去吧	120. Back you go.
121. 天青, 你踏实睡 宝贝牲口病了, 老东西今晚回不来了	121. Tianqing you can sleep well with his darling horse, he won't be back tonight.
122. 婶子, 早上喊我起 赶早把布染了, 我睡得死	122. Aunt, wake me up early tomorrow. I have to dye the cloth. I'll sleep like a dog.
123. <u>你什么时候睡过整觉</u>	123. <u>When have you slept</u> <u>the whole night through?</u>
124. <u>老东西不在了,</u> <u>你还怕什么</u>	124. <u>With the old man away</u> <u>you have nothing to fear.</u>
125. 你就是个木头	125. You really are a blockhead.

126.天青, <u>你怕什么?</u>	126. <u>What are you afraid of?</u>
127. <u>我怕什么?</u>	127. <u>Me, afraid?</u>
128. <u>不怕你关什么门呢?</u>	128. <u>If not, why did you bolt your door?</u>
129.你也是个 5 尺高的汉子	129. You are not a child.
130.* <u>你看婶子像狼不?</u>	130. <u>*Is your aunt some kind of wolf?</u>
131.怕我吃了你 我叔他...	131. -Are you afraid of that I'll eat you? -But, uncle...
132.别提他, 让老东西死去	132. Don't even say his name, wish he were dead.
133.怕人看见	133. Someone might come in.
134. <u>你偷看的时候怎么不怕人哪</u>	134. <u>You weren't so scared</u> <u>when you were peeking at me.</u>
135. <u>那你二回怎么不把洞堵上啊</u>	135. <u>So why didn't you block up the hole?</u>
136.天青, 婶子这号身子...给你留着	136. It's still pure. It's yours.
137. <u>我这药怎么样</u>	137. <u>My potion worked its charm.</u>
138.有啦	138. She's pregnant.
139.真的? 是儿是女啊? 是儿子吧	139. Really? A girl or a boy? Must be a boy.
140.这就要看你的福气啊	140. That depends on your lucky star.
141.祖宗, 祖宗保佑, 保佑生儿子啊 为我杨家传宗接代, 香火不断呐, 祖宗	141. Ancestors, bless me with a son, so that our bloodline can continue into eternity.
142.大仙, 积德行善哪, 我忘不了大仙的大恩大德	142. -Witch Li, you are a master. -I'll always remember your kindness.
143.大仙, 生了儿子我登门厚谢	143. When my son is born, I'm coming to repay you.
144.菊豆 天青 你真的有了?	144. Is it true?
145.有了, 看把老东西美的, 他还当是他的呢	145. Yes, the old bastard is so thrilled. He thinks it's his.
146.天青, 我掐算过了, 这是你的	146. I have kept track, it's definitely yours.
147.菊豆, 吃好睡好喽 给咱养个胖儿子	147. Judou, make sure you sleep and eat well. Our boy's going to be a big, healthy one.
148.我走了, 别让老东西撞见	148. I have to go. We can't let him see us.
149.金山! 金山! 一个大酒壶, 一个带把 儿的大酒壶	149. A wine jar, one with a handle.



150. 金山，菊豆对得起你了	150. Judou hasn't disappointed you.
151. 我的儿唉！	151. A son. Damn. My son.
152. “天”字辈的没剩下几个好字眼的	152. There aren't any good portents for the boy.
153. 现想一个吧	153. Make one up then.
154. 放屁	154. Nonsense!
155. 这是祖宗传下来的	155. Our art has been handed down through the generations.
156. <u>你比祖宗的学问还大？</u>	156. <u>Are you wiser than our ancestors?</u>
157. 杨家就这一个后人 取上歪字咱杨家的风水就完了	157. He's the sole Yang descendant, a cursed sign and our family is ruined.
158. 杨天白 杨天青 “青白”，清清白白	158. Tianbai sky white. Tianqing sky green.
159. 这是“天”字辈里最好的两个字了*	159. These two names fit together perfectly for this generation of Yang family.*
160. 好玩	160. Great toy.
161. 过些日子天白能玩这个了	161. He'll learn to play it in a few days.
162. 布要凉干，干活轻点，	162. Dry the cloth gently.
163. 让你婢儿和天白多睡会儿	163. So your aunt and Tianbai can get more sleep.
164. 我的亲女人	164. My precious woman, I love you.
165. 天青，我爱你！那天我以为我要死了， 再也见不到你了	165. I thought I was going to die that day, not being able to see you.
166. 轻点，轻点	166. Be quiet.
167. 看看，像你不？	167. He's just like you.
168. 我啥样啊？	168. What am I like?
169. 看他就知道	169. You'll know when you see him.
170. 天青，这是你的儿	170. Tianqing, your son.
171. 你该下去了	171. Hurry, you have to leave now.
172. 那老东西回来可不得了	172. If he finds us, we are done.
173. 老王八蛋一半是回不来	173. The old bastard won't be back for a while yet.
174. <u>你就不怕他拿斧子砍翻了你？</u>	174. <u>Aren't you afraid he'll kill you?</u>
175. <u>还不知谁砍谁呢？</u>	175. <u>I'm not sure who'll kill whom.</u>

176. 你人厚，做什么都没胆子，一个鬼	176. The brave boasts behind his back, you fool.
177. 撞上也好， 迟早的事	177. So what if he does catch us. It's bound to happen someday.
178. 咱三个够他开一腔的	178. He won't be a match for all 3 of us.
179. 叔！叔！叔！	179. Uncle! Uncle!
180. 叔！叔！你怎么啦，叔？叔！ 叔？叔？	180. Uncle! What's wrong?
181. 人是瘫了，死是死不了	181. He's paralyzed, but he'll live.
182. 下身是不能动了，不中用了	182. Legs are useless. He's crippled.
183. 我像狼吗？我吃了你 像，像 我宰了你！骚狗！骚狗...！	183. You fucking whore!
184. 你这臭坛子， 你还想欺负我	184. You pathetic cripple. Still trying to play the master.
185. <u>你看看你裤裆里面是啥？</u> 屎！	185. <u>There is nothing left</u> <u>in your trousers. Nothing!</u>
186. 我把事情做下了，我明说给你	186. We've done it, but you'll never know.
187. 你整不死我， 老天爷有眼，	187. It's your turn now. You can't kill me. The gods have eyes.
188. 给了我一个天青	188. They gave me Tianqing.
189. 你把话听清了	189. Do you hear me?
190. 天白他爹是天青	190. Tianbai is Tianqing's son, not yours.
191. 你恼去吧！	191. What do you think of that?
192. 天青，咱天白怎么老是不笑啊	192. Why doesn't Tianbai smile.
193. 该笑就笑了，看你急地  铃儿铃儿铛铛响 一步走到王家庄 王家庄上一伙狗啊... 吓得咱就没处走 没处走啊，咱回家 回家吹咱的小喇叭 铃儿铃儿铛铛响...	193. He'll smile in his own good time.
194. 毁了他，毁了他个老不死的	194. Kill him! Kill the old bastard!
195. <u>你还愣着干什么，</u> 毁了他，你毁了他	195. <u>Why did you stop?</u> Kill him! Kill him!
196. 你再敢碰我儿子一指头， 咱们就看！	196. Don't touch my son again. I'm warning you!
	197. Judou, take our son up to bed.

197.菊豆，你跟儿子睡踏实了	198. If you are tired of living, just tell me!
198.要是活够了说话，好办	
199.天青，天青！	199. Tianqing! Tianqing!
200.想把我们全家都烧死	200. You want to burn us down?
201.老不死的，没那么容易	201. It wasn't so easy, old bastard.
202.对，没那么容易	202. That's right, you failed!
203.我可不想绝你的好日子	203. I don't want to end your good times.
204.大口喘你的气，死鬼！	204. Breath, you old devil!
205.从今往后，我和天青好好的伺候你	205. From now on, Tianqing and I will serve you just as before,-
206.让你精精神神的看我们的好日子	206. -to show you how happy we are together.
207.听清了？呸！	207. Understood?
208. <u>今儿又去啊？</u>	208. <u>I'm taking him to bathe.</u>
209.啊！ 今儿太阳好啊 唉！	209. The sun is burning today.
210.金山，你可真有福气啊	210. Jinshan, you are so lucky.
211.天青比正经儿子还孝敬呢？	211. Tianqing is more filial than a son.
212.祖宗，睁眼看看吧	212. Ancestors, open your eyes.
213.杨家的先人唉！你们都睁眼看看这两个畜生哦	213. Look at the two bastards.
214.祖宗啊...	214. Ancestors...
215.我这心里啊老是在犯嘀咕	215. I've been thinking.
216.咱天白都这么大了，也不会叫个人	216. Tianbai should have started talking by now.
217.该不是个哑巴吧 你别胡说了	217. -Could he be a mute? -Don't be crazy.
218.咱孩子开口晚，该叫的时候就叫了	218. He'll talk before you know it.
219.天白，天白，叫“爹”	219. Tianbai, Tianbai, say daddy.
220. <u>他真的叫了你， 你敢答应？</u>	220. <u>If he really called you daddy, would you respond?</u>
221.自己的骨肉终归是自己的	221. After all, he is your son.
222.等天白长大了就好了	222. When he gets older, it'll work out.
223.走	223. Come on.
224.小心让天白看见	224. Tianbai might see us.
	225. It's been so long, I want you.

225. 好久了，想	226. <u>So what if Tianbai see us.</u> He's our son.
226. 看见怕什么 自己孩子，走	227. I've missed my period again.
227. 天青，我可有一阵子没来身上了	228. What will we do if I get pregnant?
228. 这次要是再怀上那就糟了	229. Tianbai!
229. 天白...! 天白...! 天白...!	230. Tianbai!
230. 天白...! 天白...! 天白...!	231. Father. Father.
231. 爹...爹...	232. You are calling me father.
232. 你叫我爹了	233. Who is your father?
233. 谁是你爹啊	234. My precious son Tianbai.
234. 爹...爹...爹... 天白，我的儿啊	235. You are my son. I'm your father.
235. 我的儿， 我是你爹啊！儿啊！	236. I am your father.
236. 我是你爹！我是你爹...!	237. -Tianbai, call me again, louder. -Father.
237. 天白，叫啊！ 爹 大声喊 爹	238. -Again. -Father.
238. 唉！再喊喽 爹...	239. Tianbai...
239. 天白...天白...	240. ...this is your mother. -Mother.
240. 来来来...这是你娘 娘	241. -And that's your brother. -Brother.
241. 这是你哥 哥	242. -I'm your father. -Father.
242. 唉，我是你爹，喊声爹 爹	243. That's my boy, remember well who we are.
243. 我的儿！叫得好啊，乖儿子， 记住了啊，以后就这么叫	244. Don't take it so hard.
244. 你别往心里去	245. Tianbai is only a child. He can't understand.
245. 天白还小， 他不懂事	246. When he gets older we can explain everything to him.
246. 等他长大了， 再一五一十的都说给他听	247. I don't know what the problem is. My period's late.
247. 也不知怎么啦， 这回身上来得这么迟	248. I'm getting...scared.
248. 吓死了 得想个法子	249. Take this. Use it before sex.
249. 给	

房事前外用，保你不生	
250.能行？	250. Will it work?
251.尼姑庵的老尼姑说了，用十遍，准行菊豆...	251. She said it would after ten times.
252.说寿词了	252. Birthday speeches.
253.今儿天白三岁生日，大吉大喜	253. Tianbai is three today.
254.二爷我没多的话 天白长命百岁	254. It's an auspicious occasion. May his life be long.
255.给咱杨家传宗接代	255. May he continue the Yang family line.
256.来，大家，干	256. Drink up.
257.金山大哥有个好儿子	257. Jinshan has a fine son.
258.天青有个好兄弟	258. Tianqing has a fine brother.
259.好福气啊，喝！	259. The best of fortune. Drink up.
260.天青呢？天青，来，给你天白兄弟说几句吉利话！	260. Tianqing should say something to bring the boy good luck.
261.婶给侄儿倒酒了	261. Look how the aunt fills the nephew's cup.
262.天青，你婶子的酒好喝啊喝！	262. Your aunt's wine is good.
263.天青，给你兄弟说两句	263. Tianqing, say something for your brother.
264.天白	264. To...Tianbai...
265.我...我的好兄弟	265. ...my good brother.
266.醉了？	266. Tianqing is drunk.
267.天青，怕自己想要儿子了吧	267. Maybe you wish you had your own son.
268.别着急，赶明儿让你叔咬咬牙，多花点钱	268. Ask your uncle to buy you a wife.
269.给你娶个比你婶子更漂亮的媳妇不就行了吗？	269. One even prettier than your aunt.
270.呸，辣椒面	270. Shit. It's chili.
271.吃醋	271. Let's use vinegar.
272.醋？能行？	272. Will vinegar work?
273.能行	273. Sure.
274.没看老人都用醋治病	274. Our elders use it to cure diseases.
275.我实在受不了了	275. I can't stand it anymore.
276.这日子没法过了	276. I can't bear it.
	277. We have to find another way.

277.天青，咱得想个法子	278. Let's leave with our son. Or live together...
278.天青，咱俩带着天白一块走吧 要不咱就敞开了过日子	279. ...openly no matter what people say.
279.让他们骂去	280. If it were just gossip, I wouldn't worry. But I'm afraid they might kill us.
280.是骂也罢 让人知道就怕活不成了	281. You are always saying no to this and that.
281.你这也不成，那也不成，你倒想个法子啊	282. -What is that? -Arsenic.
282.什么东西? 砒霜	283. Where did you get it? <u>Why do you want it?</u>
283.哪弄得? <u>你拿这干什么?</u>	284. Judou...don't get desperate.
284.菊豆，你得想开点	285. -I can't bear it anymore! -Give it to me!
285.我就是想不开，我就是想不开 给我，菊豆	286. I'm telling you, if I don't take it, he has to.
286.天青，我告诉你 我不吃他就吃	287. -Who? <u>-Who do you think?</u>
287.谁吃? <u>还能有谁?</u>	288. No matter what, he is still my uncle.
288.怎么说他也算是我叔啊	289. He's your uncle..._What about me?
289.他是你叔，我是你什么人?	290. Come on. Tell me, what am I to you?
290.我是你什么人? 你说呀，你说呀! 我是你什么人! 你说呀! 菊豆...! 菊豆...菊豆...	
铃儿铃儿铛铛响 一步走到了王家庄啊 王家庄上一伙狗啊 把咱咬得是没处走 没处走呀咱回家 回家吹咱的小喇叭	
291.怎么搞的 你婶子下身都烂了	291. -What happened? -Her uterus is infected.
292. <u>你那瘫叔有这么大的本事啊</u>	292. <u>But how could your crippled uncle cause it?</u>
293.先吃几服药	293. Take this medicine.
294.不过话说白了，人是废了，往后也不能再生养了	294. She can't have children now.
295.也好，倒省心	295. So no worry.
296.你头里走	296. You go first. I'll follow after in the dark so no one will see us.

<p>我天黑再下山，怕人看见</p> <p>297. 菊豆，可别想不开啊</p> <p>298. 天白，儿唉，儿子</p> <p>299. 又去染你的花花草草啊</p> <p>300. 来，爹帮你染，给你染大红的</p> <p>301. 你到底干了</p> <p>302. <u>我干什么了？</u> 我心里头明白着呢？</p> <p>303. <u>你胡说些什么鬼话</u></p> <p>304. 我刚进院儿的时候， 老东西就在池子里泡着呢</p> <p>305. 别瞒我</p> <p>306. 你干不如我干</p> <p>307. <u>你个妇道人家不怕日后遭报应？</u></p> <p>308. 你就冤枉我了</p> <p>309. 我好赖里外都不是人</p> <p>310. 药瓶呢？小瓶瓶呢？</p> <p>311. 扔了？扔哪啦？ 你扔哪了？</p> <p>312. 在这呐，怎么啦？</p> <p>313. 还留着，留着吧，你就留着吧</p> <p>314. <u>咱俩人的事，你逞什么能耐你？</u></p> <p>315. <u>你逞什么能耐？你说</u></p> <p>316. 你看看你那个样子 你可真够孝顺的</p> <p>317. <u>老东西他不该死啊</u></p> <p>318. <u>你有什么舍不得？</u></p> <p>319. <u>你就那么甘心情愿的当你那个哥？</u></p> <p>320. 好侄子， 孝顺侄子，好侄子！</p> <p>321. 天青，你也打我</p>	<p>297. Things aren't so desperate.</p> <p>298. Tianbai, my precious son.</p> <p>299. Are you trying to dye them again?</p> <p>300. Come here, dad will dye it red for you.</p> <p>301. You finally did it.</p> <p>302. <u>-Did what?</u> -I know exactly what you did.</p> <p>303. <u>What are you saying?</u></p> <p>304. When I got back, he was lying face down in the pond.</p> <p>305. Don't lie to me.</p> <p>306. Why couldn't you let me do it?</p> <p>307. <u>Aren't you afraid that the gods will take revenge?</u></p> <p>308. Even you accuse me.</p> <p>309. There's no way to prove my innocence.</p> <p>310. Where is the arsenic?</p> <p>311. Did you throw it away? Where is it?</p> <p>312. It's right here. What about it?</p> <p>313. So you still have it. Good, keep it.</p> <p>314. <u>We both should have agreed on this first.</u></p> <p>315. <u>But you have it your way.</u></p> <p>316. Look at yourself, always the filial nephew.</p> <p>317. <u>Didn't he deserve to die?</u></p> <p>318. <u>Why are you mourning for him?</u></p> <p>319. <u>Are you happy to play the role of a brother?</u></p> <p>320. Such a pious nephew. Such a devoted nephew!</p> <p>321. So, you beat me like he did?</p> <p>322. Go ahead.</p>
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322.好，你打	323. Wake up the old bastard to help you.
323.老东西还在那躺着呢，你把他叫起来一块打	324. Go on, hit me! I don't want to live!
324.你打啊， 我也不想活了	325. According to our customs-
325.按祖上的老规矩，咱杨家“天”字辈	326. -Tianbai is the sole heir.
326.往后就是杨天白一脉单传	327. Tianqing doesn't count.
327.杨天青是外人，不算数	328. We'll hold a funeral procession tomorrow.
328.照祖宗的老规矩，明几个金山兄弟出殡	329. Judou and Tianqing must rush to stop the coffin as a sign of mourning.
329.菊豆和天青要拦路挡棺，以示孝心	330. From the beginning there has been much gossip.
330.村里对他们两人本来就有些风言风语	331. Tomorrow all of us will be present.
331.明几个咱们杨家老少爷们都在	332. They will clear up the matter of your reputation.
332.孝顺不孝顺， 是黑是白就能看清楚了	333. As set down in our laws following Jinshan's death.
333.按祖上的老规矩 金山死后，	334. Judou must not remarry. As his widow she must remain faithful to his memory.
334.菊豆不准改嫁， 尽妇道，保贞洁	335. After the funeral, Tianqing will have to leave the dyeing house.
335.出完了殡， 杨天青要搬出染坊大院	336. And spend his nights with the Wang family.
336.夜里睡到老王家	337. <u>A bachelor and a widow living together would provoke too much gossip.</u>
337.不然，孤男寡女的 虽说是侄儿和婶子	338. Our family's name has been pure for generations.
338. <u>可咱杨家，世世代代清清白白</u> <u>总不能让人说了闲话吧</u>	339. -Have the coffin stoppers left yet? -Tianqing and Judou are waiting in front.
339.挡棺的去了没有？ 天青和菊豆在前面等着呢	340. They must stop the coffin 49 times.
340.照老规矩，得挡七七四十九回	341. Remember, no mistakes.
341.记住喽，千万错不得	342. Stop the coffin.
342.挡棺了！	343. -Uncle, you can't go! -Don't go! Don't go!
343.叔！你别走啊...！ 你不能走啊！你别走阿！	344. Uncle, you can't leave!
344.叔！你别走啊！ 你不能走啊，叔！你别走啊！ 叔，你不能走啊，叔！你不能走啊，叔！	345. Wait for me! Wait for me!
	346. Once!



<p>345. 你别走啊，你等等我，你等等我阿叔，你不能走啊，叔！</p> <p>346.1 回！</p> <p>347. 叔...Judou: 你别走啊...！ 你不能走啊...你不能走啊...</p> <p>348. 你别走啊...！ 你等等我呀！</p> <p>349.2 回！ 叔... 你别走啊...</p> <p>350. 天白</p> <p>351. 婶儿</p> <p>352. 怎么啦？</p> <p>353. 赶集买了点东西</p> <p>354. 揣在怀里好几天了， 没空给你</p> <p>355. 这是给天白的</p> <p>356. 你自己给他吧</p> <p>357. 还是你给他吧， 小崽子他不理我</p> <p>358. 看看 太红了吧</p> <p>359. 不红，还是那么好看</p> <p>360. 天白，你哥给你买的新毛笔</p> <p>361. 婶儿，我回去了</p> <p>362. 天白，关好门</p> <p>363. 天白，我到史家营去一趟，上回赶集看见你六叔，</p> <p>364. 喊我去</p> <p>365. 下回不能来这儿了</p> <p>366. 老来一个地方，怕人撞见</p> <p>367. 天儿越来越凉了， <u>还能去哪？</u></p> <p>368. 你该走了</p> <p>369. 一个寡妇家，怕人家说</p> <p>370. 自打老东西死了以后，</p> <p>371. 咱怕人家说闲话，你都在外面住了七</p>	<p>347. -Uncle, you can't go! -Don't go! Don't go!</p> <p>348. -Uncle, you mustn't go! -Don't go! Don't go!</p> <p>349. Twice!</p> <p>350. Tianbai.</p> <p>351. Aunt.</p> <p>352. What's wrong?</p> <p>353. I bought some things at the fair.</p> <p>354. But I haven't had a chance to give them to you.</p> <p>355. This is for Tianbai.</p> <p>356. You give it to him.</p> <p>357. No, the little bastard doesn't even speak to me.</p> <p>358. Too red, isn't it?</p> <p>359. No, you are still as beautiful as ever.</p> <p>360. Your brother bought you a writing brush.</p> <p>361. Aunt, I'm going back.</p> <p>362. Tianbai, watch the house.</p> <p>363. Tianbai, I saw your uncle at the fair.</p> <p>364. He wants me to visit him.</p> <p>365. Next time, we have to find another place.</p> <p>366. Or someone will discover us.</p> <p>367. The days are getting colder and colder. <u>Where else can we go?</u></p> <p>368. You'd better leave now.</p> <p>369. You are a widow, and people will talk.</p> <p>370. For 7 years, since the bastard died,-</p> <p>371. -have you stayed away to avoid gossip.</p> <p>372. We only meet in secret.</p>
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<p>八年了， 372.整天东躲西藏的 373.天青，咱还是带着天白离开这儿吧 走得远远的</p> <p>374.又提走的事了 日子都熬过来了</p> <p>375.再说家里这一堂子还指望天白呢</p> <p>376.那我就把话明说给他</p> <p>377.你疯了</p> <p>378.说给他，是要他死啊</p> <p>379.你不说给他，他成天冲着咱俩杀生杀气的， 那是要逼死你和我呢</p> <p>380.起初我当是跑出个狐狸</p> <p>381.细看是俩人</p> <p>382.下面又看不清楚 压在上头的，你们猜是谁？</p> <p>383.谁啊？</p> <p>384.是天白她娘 寡妇！</p> <p>385.她怎么压着他的</p> <p>386.就像在水里头玩耍！</p> <p>387.在哪啊？</p> <p>388.就在...</p> <p>389.杀人啦，杀人啦！杀人啦，杀人啦！ 我不要，不要... 哎呀</p> <p>390.怎么啦，天白？</p> <p>391.你手怎么啦？ 流血了？</p> <p>392.我看看，你看这血，我给你啄啄，我给你啄啄</p> <p>393.狗日的！你个狗日的，</p> <p>394.你狗日的杨天白，你听清了，你打的是你亲爹，</p> <p>395.我今天把话给你挑明了</p> <p>396.你是杨天青的儿，</p>	<p>373. Let's go far away from here. We can bring Tianbai.</p> <p>374. Don't bring that up again. We've been through it all before.</p> <p>375. We have to look after the business, and think about Tianbai.</p> <p>376. I'll have to tell him the truth.</p> <p>377. Are you crazy?</p> <p>378. If he found out, it would crush him.</p> <p>379. He's already angry and withdrawn. Maybe he lash out at us.</p> <p>380. At first I thought it was a deer and a fox.</p> <p>381. But it was 2 people lying together.</p> <p>382. I couldn't see who was underneath. Guess who was on top?</p> <p>383. Who?</p> <p>384. It was Tianbai's mother. The widow.</p> <p>385. What was she pressing down on.</p> <p>386. It looked just like she was beating cloths on water.</p> <p>387. Where was it?</p> <p>388. It was...</p> <p>389. Help! Help! Murder!</p> <p>390. What's the matter, Tianbai?</p> <p>391. What happened to your hand? It's bleeding.</p> <p>392. Let me suck it for you.</p> <p>393. You little bastard, Yang Tianbai.</p> <p>394. Now get this straight, the person you just hit is your real father.</p> <p>395. The truth has to be told.</p> <p>396. You are Yang Tianqing's son. Yang Tianqing, is your real father.</p> <p>397. Aunt!</p>
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<p>杨天青是你亲爹！</p> <p>397. 婶子！</p> <p>398. 我把饭端上来了，吃饭吧</p> <p>399. 天白呢？ 出去了</p> <p>400. 往后这日子越来越难过了</p> <p>401. 一天天老了</p> <p>402. 真想着和你再做回夫妻</p> <p>403. 你要做就挑个地方吧</p> <p>404. 你憋闷不？ 上不来气儿</p> <p>405. 这地窖里的气是越来越稀，越来越少了</p> <p>406. 再呆下去，咱俩怕是都憋死了</p> <p>407. 天青...天青...</p> <p>408. 天青！天青！</p> <p>409. 啊...天青！天青！啊！天青啊...</p> <p>铃儿铃儿铛铛响啊 一步走到王家庄 王家庄里一伙狗... 剧终 谢谢观赏</p>	<p>398. I brought you some food.</p> <p>399. -Where is Tianbai? -He went out.</p> <p>400. Things are bound to get worse and worse.</p> <p>401. Our lives are passing by.</p> <p>402. Will you be my wife once more?</p> <p>403. Let's find a secret place.</p> <p>404. It's very close down here. I can hardly breathe.</p> <p>405. The air down here is getting thinner.</p> <p>406. If we don't leave, we'll suffocate.</p> <p>407. Tianqing...Tianqing...</p> <p>408. Tianqing! Tianqing!</p> <p>409. Tianqing! Tianqing!</p>
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### Appendix 3 *Raise the Red Lantern* Corpus

Source Text	Target Text
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 大红灯笼高高挂</li> <li>2. 娘，你不要再说了</li> <li>3. 你已经跟我说了三天了</li> <li>4. 我也想明白了， 嫁人就嫁人吧</li> <li>5. 那， 你想嫁给什么人</li> <li>6. <u>嫁给什么人， 能由得了我吗？</u></li> <li>7. 你一直在提钱， 就嫁个有钱人吧</li> <li>8. 嫁有钱人 可是当小老婆</li> <li>9. 当小老婆，就当小老婆</li> <li>10. <u>女人不就这么回事吗</u>  夏 根据苏童《妻妾成群》小说改编 编剧 倪震 领衔主演 巩俐 主演 何赛飞 马精武 曹翠芬 周琦 孔琳 金淑媛 导演 张艺谋</li> <li>11. 小姐，你找谁？</li> <li>12. 我是颂莲呀</li> <li>13. <u>上次不是见过一面吗</u></li> <li>14. 哎呦，四太太是您哪！ 您等等，等等</li> <li>15. 花轿去接您了， 您没见著？</li> <li>16. 我自己走来的</li> <li>17. 不用！我自己拿</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Raise Red Lantern</li> <li>2. Mother, you have said enough</li> <li>3. you've been trying to convince me for three days</li> <li>4. I've been thinking I'll get married as you wish</li> <li>5. Good What kind of man you want to marry to?</li> <li>6. <u>What kind of man?</u> <u>Do I have much of choice?</u></li> <li>7. You only care about money so why don't I marry a rich man?</li> <li>8. You'll only be good a concubine if you marry a rich man</li> <li>9. Then, I will be a rich man's concubine</li> <li>10. <u>What else more could be offered to women!</u></li> <li>11. Lady, are you looking for someone?</li> <li>12. I'm Songlian</li> <li>13. <u>We met once before</u> don't you remember me?</li> <li>14. You are the fourth Mistress please wait here</li> <li>15. I sent the bridal sedan for you it didn't show up?</li> <li>16. I walked here myself</li> <li>17. Thanks, I could manage it</li> </ol>

18. 您稍候， 我先看一下	18. Please wait here Let me make a report for your arrival
19. 你是谁呀	19. Who are you?
20. 四太太，请进来吧	20. Fourth Mistress, please come in
21. <u>你就是那个四太太啊</u>	21. <u>So you are the Mistress number 4!</u>
22. 对，我就是那个四太太 你把箱子给我拎进去	22. Right Bring my suitcase inside
23. 四太太，往后您就住在这儿	23. This is your quarter
24. 我是管家陈百顺	24. My name is Chan Baishun I am the housekeeper
25. 有什么事儿， 您尽管吩咐	25. Please feel free to call me if you need assistance
26. 这屋子里干嘛挂这么些红灯笼	26. Why hang so many red lanterns inside this quarter ?
27. <u>不是你来了吗</u>	27. <u>They are for you</u>
28. 四太太，照府上的规矩， 该伺候您了	28. Fourth Mistress you should be served upon your arrival based on family customs
29. 慢慢儿你就习惯了	29. You'll get used to it
30. 四太太，该给您梳头更衣了	30. Fourth Mistress, we're here to do your hair and help you change
31. *恭喜老爷， 恭喜老爷大喜	31. *Congratulations mister It is a big day for you
32. 怎么样？脚捶的还舒服吧	32. How do you like foot massage ?
33. 女人的脚最要紧	33. Woman's feet need most care
34. 脚舒服了 就什么都调理顺了	34. A woman is in good shape and knows how to better serve her man
35. 也就更会伺候男人了	35. if her feet are taken care of
36. 你去把那盏灯端起来	36. Take that lantern
37. 对，就是那盏灯	37. Yes, that one
38. 把灯举高点	38. Bring it higher...
39. 脸抬起来	39. Look up
40. 洋学生到底不一样	40. Educated girls sure look different
41. 好吧，脱衣服睡觉吧	41. Now, take off your cloth and get in bed
42. 把灯灭了	42. Please put out the lights

43. 那怎么成？我就是为了看的清清楚楚， 才点这么多灯的	43. <u>No, I lit all these lanterns so I could best check you out</u>
44. 亮堂堂的多好	44. Besides, I like it bright and formal
45. 谁敲门	45. Who's there?
46. 三太太病了， 请老爷去	46. Third Madam is sick and she asks for you....
47. 我已经睡下了	47. I'm in bed already
48. 三太太得的是急病，非要您去吗	48. It's urgent and she wants no one but you
49. 明天再说吧	49. It can wait till tomorrow
50. 三太太要是有个三长两短 我们担待不起	50. If something serious happens to her we'll be blamed
51. 讨厌！ 抽什么风啊	51. Damn it! <u>What is she up to?</u>
52. 我过去看看 要不然她得闹腾一夜	52. I'll have to go to see her Or she won't let me sleep tonight
53. 老爷走了，老爷进三院？ 哦	53. Is the Master leaving for the third Mistress?
54. 三院点灯*	54. Light the lanterns in quarter # 3!*
55. 四太太！	55. Fourth Mistress ...
56. 四太太	56. Fourth Mistress ...
57. 四太太，照府上的老规矩	57. According to family's custom
58. 我带您去拜见老祖宗跟三位太太 回头再用早点	58. you should pay a visit to the other three Madams before breakfast
59. 照府上的规矩，议事和吃饭都在这里	59. We eat and gather for meetings here
60. 陈家的老规矩 都是老祖宗传下来的	60. The Chen family's customs go back many generations
61. 四太太，老规矩往后都马虎不得	61. It is important for everyone including you to obey them
62. 四太太，拜见祖宗吧	62. Kowtow to our ancestors, please
63. 要不，先到三院 见过老爷吧	63. Let's go to greet the master at the third quarter
64. 老爷跟三太太还没起来， 要不待会儿再来吧	64. They are not up yet we'll come back in a while
65. 大太太， 四太太向您请安来了	65. First Mistress Fourth Mistress is here to see you
66. 大姐	66. Good morning, Big sister

67. 多大了	67. How old are you?
68. 十九	68. Nineteen
69. 听说你念过书	69. I heard you have studied in university for sometime
70. 大学念了半年	70. Yes, for one semester
71. 好, 知书达理就好	71. Good that you're educated
72. 到了府上慢慢就惯了	72. You'll soon get used to living here
73. 以后和姐妹们要和睦相处	73. Try to get along well with other well with your sisters
74. 好生侍候老爷	74. and be good to the Mister
75. 去吧	75. You can go now
76. 罪过, 罪过	76. God forgives, god forgives.....
77. <u>她有一百岁了吧</u> <u>这么老</u>	77. <u>She must be almost 100 year old!</u> <u>She looks so wrinkly!</u>
78. 二太太 四太太向您请安来了	78. Second Mistress Fourth Mistress is here to see you
79. 哎! 四妹来了, 快请进! 请进来	79. Fourth sister is here, please come in !
80. 二姐	80. Good morning, second sister
81. 哎, 快屋里坐吧	81. Come-on in, come-on in
82. 长的真秀气 叫什么名字	82. What a pretty face! What is your name?
83. 颂莲	83. Songlian
84. 名字跟人一样秀气	84. A pretty name, too
85. 我叫卓云 以后就叫我名字吧	85. I'm Zhouyun Just call me by my name
86. 看上去, 好像正在念书	86. You look like a student
87. 大学刚读了半年	87. I was for six months
88. 那怎么不念完呢	88. Why did you quite?
89. 家父去世了, 家里供不起了	89. My father past away and my family can't afford keeping me in the school
90. 老人家高龄啊	90. How old was your father?
91. 五十三	91. 53
92. 还不到六十啊	92. Not even 60 yet !
	93. Life is unpredictable, isn't it

93. 人生真是不测	94. Have tea, Fourth Mistress
94. 四太太请用茶	95. Fourth sister, please have some tea
95. 四妹请用茶	96. Where are you from? Fengcheng
96. 家在哪? 凤城	97. Well, it is famous for tea there
97. 噢, 那可是出茶叶的地方	98. My father was in the tea business
98. 家父以前就是做茶叶生意的	99. his shop has been closed down since he passed away
99. 后来铺子倒闭了	100. Your mother let you marry someone so far away from home?
100. 嫁的这么远 令堂大人舍得让你过来	101. She's my stepmother
101. 她是继母	102. I see
102. 是这样	103. So how was the foot massage last night? ?
103. 噢, 四妹 昨儿晚上你的脚捶的还舒坦吧	104. You enjoy foot massage every night?
104. 二姐每天晚上也是这样捶脚的吧	105. Don't be silly! It doesn't happen all the time
105. 哎, 傻妹子 这脚可不是谁想捶就能捶的	106. It only lands on whomever the mister spends the night with
106. 老爷要住哪院	107. then she gets to lit the lanterns and get treated with feet massage
107. 哪院才点灯捶脚	108. Now that the master has a new wife young and pretty
108. 如今又娶了你这么个 年轻漂亮的新太太	109. I'm afraid I won't be enjoying these privileges for some times
109. 二姐怕是 有日子享不着这个福了	110. You don't underestimate these import customs
110. 你别小看了这个	111. If you can manage to have a feet massage everyday
111. 以后你要是天天能捶上脚	112. you'll soon be running this household
112. 在陈家你就想怎么着, 就能怎么着	113. Yizhen, come meet your Fourth Aunt
113. 来! 来! 易珍, 快来拜见四姨妈	114. Fourth Aunt!
114. 四姨妈	115. How useless I am only gave a daughter
115. 没本事, 只生了这么个丫头	116. Excuse me, Second Mistress
116. 二太太, 时辰不早了	117. I'd better take



117.四太太还要见过三太太呢	Forth Mistress to see Third Mistress
118.哎呦，你看我光顾著说话 三太太当然是要去见的	118.Sorry, I keep you occupied You do need to see the third sister
119.以前戏班里最红的名旦吗	119.She was a famous opera singer
120.戏唱的好，人也长得好	120.She sings well and is pretty also
121.哎，三妹也真够刁的	121.But she can be very difficult!
122. <u>昨晚上是你什么日子呀</u> <u>能大半夜就把老爷叫走吗</u>	122. <u>It was very disrespectful that</u> <u>she get the master away</u>
123.对你太不客气了	123.from you at your wedding night !
124.说是三姐病了	124.I thought she didn't feel good?
125. <u>什么病啊</u> <u>哼，老爷惯出的毛病</u>	125. <u>Yes, right</u> <u>She's too spoiled to feel good!</u>
126.老爷走了 刚走	126.Did the Mister leave? He just did
127.这不， 正灭灯吗	127.You see they are putting off the lanterns
128.那，先拜见三太太吧	128.Let's go to see the Third Mistress
129.三太太说，	129.Third Mistress wants me to tell you
130.她今儿身子不爽快 说改日再见吧	130.that she isn't feeling good and please come back some other time
131.四太太，这是三太太的少爷飞兰	131.Here is Feilan, Third Mistress's son
132.跟二太太的易珍小姐同岁	132.He is same age as Second Madame's daughter, Miss Yizhen
133.快，叫四姨妈 四姨妈	133.Come meet your Fourth Aunt Fourth Aunt!
134.四太太...	134.Four Mistress...
135.四太太， 这是燕儿	135.Four Mistress This is Yang
136.是老爷分给您房里的丫环，以后是她 侍候您 有事儿尽管吩咐	136.The Master assigned her to be your maid
137.燕儿，还不快叫四太太	137.Yang, come to greet the Fourth Mistress
138.四太太	138.Yes, Fourth Mistress
139.是她呀，见过， <u>脾气不太好吧</u>	139.I've met her already <u>She has bad temper</u>
140.嗯，挺好的	140.No, not at all She is nice and hardworking

满勤快的	
141.来府上三四年了	141.She has been here for several years
142.头上没有虱子吧? 我可最怕虱子了	142.lice I I hope she hasn't got any lice in her hair, I hate lice
143.去, 快过去叫四太太看看	143.Go and let Fourth Mistress take a look at your hair
144.快蹲下 叫四太太看看头发	144.Kneel down, so that Fourth Mistress could take a good look at your hair
145. <u>头上什么味儿啊,</u> 洗头去	145. <u>What is that smell?</u> Go wash your hair !
146.你没听四太太说话	146.Didn't you hear?
147.我昨天才洗过头	147.I just washed my hair yesterday
148.顺便把我换下的两件衣服 一块儿洗了	148.By the way, wash the clothes I just took off while you're cleaning your hair
149.还不快去 小心惹四太太生气, 去	149.Go to do it now ! Don't upset Fourth Mistress
150.燕儿, 燕儿, 燕儿...	150.Yang !
151. <u>你怎么还不去洗呀?</u>	151. <u>Why haven't you washed your hair?</u>
152. <u>你可不能这样, 看著老爷喜欢你</u> <u>就想当太太了?</u>	152. <u>The Master like you, it doesn't mean</u> <u>that you will become one of his wives</u>
153.就算老爷这次不娶 四太太也不会是你	153.If she wasn't married to the master wife # 4 wouldn't have been you, either
154.你就不是当太太的命 好好地侍候新来的四太太吧	154.Get real; you were born to be a servant! Do what Fourth Mistress asked !
155.别胡思乱想了, 啊!	155.Don't waste your time dreaming !
156.别忘了洗头	156.And don't forget to wash hair !
157.梅珊是怎么回事儿	157.Where is Meishan?
158.老爷, 三太太马上就到	158.The Third Mistress is coming
159.刚才高医生开方子 耽误了一会儿	159.doctor Gao is writing down a prescription for her
160.三妹来了	160.Here comes third sister
161.三妹, 这是你四妹 你们两个还没见到面吧	161.Third sister, this is our fourth sister You haven't meet, have you?
162.三姐	162.Third sister!
163.颂莲初来乍到, 你们要好好照应她	163.Songlian is new here, be good to her
164.往后	164.From now on you sisters should all get along well

姐妹们要和睦相处	
165.吃饭吧	165.Let's eat
166.你怎么不吃啊	166.Why don't you eat?
167.我不爱吃肉	167.I don't like meat
168.今天都备了什么素菜	168.What vegetable dishes do we have today?
169.回老爷，今儿晌午预备的有	169.Master, today we have...
170.香菇鸡丝、菊花发菜 山湖燕窝、开洋菜心	170....Chicken with mushroom, saute spinach shark fin soup, stewed cabbage
171.三烧鲜窝头、浆爆五色红 以假乱真佛爷跳墙，还有，清清白白 仙人指路	171.3 seafood combo, spicy 5 meat combo stir fried cactus...
172.照府上的老规矩 点了灯就能点菜	172.Our customs say the one gets lanterns lit could order whatever she likes
173.想吃什么，你就点吧	173.So, what would you like?
174.我想吃菠菜豆腐	174.I want stewed tofu with spinach
175.去，做一个菠菜豆腐 再添一个新鲜的嫩豆芽来	175.OK, go prepare stewed tofu with spinach also stir fried bean sprouts
176.四太太	176.Fourth Mistress...
177.四太太，老爷吩咐下来 叫四太太到大门口听招呼	177.Fourth Mistress, Master asks you to wait by the door for instructions
178.听招呼？ 听什么招呼	178.Wait by the door? And what instructions?
179.就是有劳太太在门口站一站	179.Well, it only takes a few minutes
180.看老爷睡觉前 还有什么吩咐没有	180.just to hear if Master may have anything to say before bed time
181.老爷有什么吩咐说就是了 干嘛要去大门口啊	181.He could come to tell us why should we wait outside?
182.这是府上多年的老规矩了 几位太太都去的	182.It's another old family custom it applies to every Mistress
183.我前几天怎么没听说呢	183.But how come I didn't have to wait outside before?
184.新太太，头九天没这规矩	184.New wife doesn't have to wait during the first 9 days
185.这不，您来府上已经十天了	185.Today is the 10th day for you
186.四院点灯	186.Light the lanterns at the fourth quarter
	187.What do you think about lanterns

187. 怎么样？点灯，捶脚	foot massages?
188. 到这会儿你觉出点意思来了吧	188. Do you like?
189. 再过些天哪， 你就更离不了了咯	189. After sometime, you can't live without lanterns and foot massage
190. 谁呀？什么事	190. Who is it?
191. 三太太说，她病又犯了 叫老爷过去	191. Third Mistress is sick again and she wants the master to go over to see her
192. 三姐又叫你， 你该过去了	192. Third sister is asking for you again You should go now
193. 咳，这个梅珊越惯越刁了	193. Meishan is getting spoiled!
194. 那你就过去吧，以后也别到我这来了	194. You can go, don't come to me again
195. 唉，我不是这个意思	195. I won't go to her
196. 告诉三太太， 今天我不过去了	196. Tell Third Mistress that I am not going to see her tonight!
197. 老爷，我怕回去不好交代	197. I can't tell her that!
198. <u>混账，有什么不好交代的</u> <u>有什么事明天再说，就这么回话</u>	198. <u>Nonsense! Just do what I say?</u> <u>Tell her I'll see her tomorrow!</u>
199. 谁在唱， 是三姐吧	199. Who's singing? Is it Third sister?
200. 嗯	200. Yes
201. 昨天半夜她就在那儿折腾 一大早又唱上了	201. She was sick last night now she's singing at this early hour
202. 什么意思？成心不让人睡	202. She won't let us sleep!
203. 她高兴了就唱 不高兴了就哭！	203. She sings when she's happy she cries when she's mad
204. 狗娘养的，你别理她	204. That bitch! Never mind her!
205. 三姐 病好了	205. Third sister are you feeling better now?
206. 怎么，扰了你的好梦了	206. Did I wake you from your sweet dreams?
207. 对，你把我吵醒了	207. Yes, you did
208. 醒了好， 要不越睡越糊涂	208. Good, so that you don't sleep too much and become stupid
209. 没糊涂 这不上来听三姐唱戏来了	209. Stupid? I am not stupid So I come up to hear you singing
210. 接著唱啊	210. Continue, please

211.你想听， 可我不想唱了	211.You like to hear me singing... ...but I don't feel like singing anymore
212.你去看梅珊唱戏了	212.You went to hear Meishan singing?
213.都是这些年，我把她给惯坏了 她一不顺心，就敢骂我的祖宗八代	213.I've spoiled her She curses my ancestors when she is upset
214.这个狗娘养的 看我迟早收拾她	214.Bitch! I'll teach her a lesson sooner or later
215.怎么？ 生气了	215.What is up with you? Are you upset?
216.好了，好了，别耍小孩儿脾气了	216.Don't be childish
217.今天我带你 去吃五味仿的小馄饨	217.Let's pay a visit to downtown and have some dumplings
218.你不是说你爱吃吗，啊	218.you told me that you liked the dumplings?
219.你真的不理我	219.What's wrong with you?
220.有人可早就盼着捶脚呢	220.The others would beg to have foot massage
221.老爷您早啊，老爷走了？ 灭灯	221.The Master is leaving! Put off the lanterns!
222.三院点灯	222.Light the lanterns at the third quarter
223.燕儿	223.Yang
224.燕儿，燕儿 哎，来了	224.Yang, Yang Coming!
225. <u>这么慢，不会走快点儿</u>	225. <u>Hurry up! You are always slow</u>
226.你要不愿干 你就走	226.Pack and go you don't want to be my mad
227.别以为老爷摸你一把	227.You really think you could put up an attitude just
228.你就怎么样了	228.because the master touched you
229.你成天挂副死人脸 给谁看呢	229.Look at your face! You look upset whole day long
230.没有，我怎么敢挂脸，天生就没脸	230.No, I don't dare
231.怎么，又想起上我这儿来了？ 真舍得新太太那股儿新劲儿？	231. <u>What bring you here?</u> <u>Tired of your new wife already?</u>
232.咳， <u>我这有什么好啊</u>	232. <u>What's good about me?</u>
233.人家给我脸色看呀 你这儿当然好	233.She's giving me attitude and you are nice

234.不摆脸色还能叫我听戏	234.You are sweet and you also sing for me
235.好	235.Good job!
236.我最爱听这一句	236.I just can't listen enough of you singing
237.好，越唱越好 再给我唱一段苏三起解，好不好，来	237.Come' on more songs friendly with Songlian
238.四妹，四妹，下来，来 到我这儿来说会儿话	238.Fourth sister, come down here! Come chat with me
239. <u>四妹，你一个人溜达什么？</u> 下来，	239. <u>What are you doing up there alone?</u> Come down!
240.我找你有事	240.I want to talk to you
241.呦，你脸色可不太好	241.You don't look too good
242.不点灯不捶脚，心里不痛快吧	242.No lanterns and no foot massages you don't seem happy
243.我才不在乎呢，一个人反倒清静	243.I don't care, I like being alone
244.在陈家 可不能图清静	244.It doesn't do you any good being alone in this family
245.你要是几天捶不上脚	245.Servants could act differently to you
246.连下人的脸色都会不一样的	246.if you haven't got foot massages for a few days
247.老爷愿意去哪院， 去就是了	247.The master could come and go as he pleases
248.要这些名堂，也不嫌麻烦	248.why bother making so much work!
249.这点灯、吹灯 总算是祖宗传下来的老规矩	249.Lanterns is an old family custom that has been exercising
250.我当初进府的时候就是这样	250.way before I married into this family
251.这是块苏州的真丝 送给你裁件衣裳	251.Suzhou's silk, for you go get some dresses made of it
252.呦，二姐，要你送给我东西 这多不好意思	252.That's too much! Besides, you should be the one receiving gifts from me
253.应该我送给你才对	253.how could I accept it from you!
254.这是什么道理，我看你特别顺眼 喜欢！就想这块绸子来	254.Come on! I wanted you to have it when I first saw you, because I like you
255.要是换了三院那个唱戏的 她掏钱我还不给呢	255.I wouldn't spare it to that singer with money!
256.你看她今天晚上那得意劲儿	256.Did you see how arrogant she was earlier today?

257.二姐，楼上的那个小房子做什么用的？	257.What is that small room up on the top roof?
258.锁那么个大锁	258.It's shot with a big lock
259.别去了 那儿死了好几个人了	259.You should go there several deaths happened inside
260.死人？死的什么人	260.Who did die inside?
261.上代人的家眷，都是女的	261.They are all women from past generations
262.上吊死的	262.They were hung in there
263.这事儿你就别再打听了 陈府上下都忌讳说这些事，啊！	263.Don't ask about this any more nobody here wants to talk about it
264.四妹，有空到我这儿来坐 别再去那儿了	264.Come chat with me if you want to kill time, just don't go there again
265.老爷进城去了 吩咐四位太太自己吃	265.The Master's out and there is no need to wait for him for lunch
266.吃吧	266.Let's go ahead
267.怎么没有菠菜豆腐啊	267.Where is my stewed tofu with spinach?
268.我倒觉得今天的菜素了	268.There are too many vegetable dishes already
269.去，给我做一个荷叶 粉蒸肉	269.Go, get me some pork wrapped in taro leaves
270.是	270.Yes
271.今儿怎么要荤菜了	271.There are enough meat dishes already!
272.昨天不是 <u>三院点灯了吗</u>	272. <u>Well, the lantern was lit at the third quarter last night!</u>
273. <u>四太太不是新娶的吗</u>	273. <u>I thought Fourth Mistress is new to the Master?</u>
274.咳，这事儿谁能说的清 随着老爷兴趣吧	274.Who knows what exactly goes on! It's all up to him
275.反正啊，哪院点灯 哪院点菜，	275.Who gets lanterns lit who gets to pick the dishes
276.伺候就是了	276.We just do what they ask
277.谁呀 是我，燕儿	277.Who is it? It's me, Yang
278.什么事儿 鬼鬼祟祟的	278.What is up? Why are you sneaking around?
279.三太太请你去打麻将	279.Third Mistress asks you to play mahjong with her

280.我去打麻将？ 亏你们想的出来	280.Me? play mahjong with her! What an idea!
281.不去	281.I don't want to...
282.四妹，四妹	282.Fourth sister...Fourth sister...
283.四妹，三缺一， 赏个脸吧	283.we need one more player Come join us
284.我没那个兴致	284.I am not in mood
285.走吧， 一个人闷在屋子里多没意思	285.Come on Don't stay in the house all day
286.还在为那个菠菜豆腐 生我的气吧	286.Or are you still upset at me for stewed tofu with spinach?
287.那倒不至于	287.I could care less
288.那就好 我想四妹也不会那么小心眼儿	288.Good I knew you are not petty
289.既怕输了吧，又怕输了钱吧	289.Or, perhaps you are afraid of losing your money to me?
290.四妹要是真的怕输，三姐我让你了	290.Don't worry, I'll let you win
291.既然三姐这么说了，那我是非去不可了	291.I guess I must join you
292.你也不用让我 谁输谁赢还真说不准呢	292.Please play your best who knows who is going to be the loser
293.那好啊	293.Good
294.这位是高医生，常来的 府上的人病了，都请他来看	294.This is Doctor Gao a family physician
295.王先生，高先生的朋友	295.this is Mr. Wang, a friend of Doctor Gao's
296.这是我们四太太 刚来没几天	296.And this is our Fourth Mistress a new face to you
297.请坐，四太太 来吧	297.Please sit down Let's start
298.我们四太太啊，可是念过大学的， 不像我是个戏子	298.Our Fourth Mistress was a university student, and I was an opera singer
299.哎，人家今儿个可是来赌输赢的 你们二位可要留点神啊	299.She plays to win today you both should watch out
300.哈哈，哪里，哪里，随便玩玩吗	300.Come on, it's just a game
301.三姐 到底是个唱戏的	301.Third sister you sure are an entertainer
	302.Look at your quarter



302.屋子收拾的 跟个戏台子似的	it is decorated like a stage
303.人吗，都忘不了过去	303.We don't forget our past
304.老爷回来啦 <u>怎么也不叫人通报一声</u>	304.Master, you are back <u>How come you don't call us?</u>
305.噢，我也是刚刚进门 老爷辛苦	305.No worse, I just arrived Master, you must be tired
306.人呢	306.Where is Forth Mistress?
307.四太太被三太太叫去打牌了	307.She went playing majong with the Third Mistress
308.我去叫她 不必了	308.Let me go get her Never mind
309.不老老实实在屋里呆着，乱跑什么 点二院的灯	309.She should stay where she should be? Light the lanterns at the second quarter
310.老爷回来了	310.The master's back
311.不见四太太 就到二太太院里去了	311.He couldn't find you so he went to the second house
312.哎，管他回不回来 玩咱们的	312.Never mind Let's play
313.四妹，你今晚算给卓云做件好事吧 这阵子她也闷死了	313.You just did Forth sister a huge favour she has been lonely for some time
314.把老头子借她一夜	314.Let her have the Master for one night
315.你今晚输的钱叫他掏	315.and you could ask her to pay for you if you loss the game
316.两清	316.That way, she returns your favour
317.听说四太太 大学没有念完	317.I heard the Fourth Mistress was once going to university
318.为什么	318.Why discontinued?
319. <u>念书有什么用啊</u>	319. <u>Education has no use here</u>
320.还不是老爷身上的一件衣裳 想穿就穿，想脱就脱呗	320.I'm one of the Master's robes that could be put on or taken off as he likes
321.老爷，我还想再给你生个儿子	321.Master, I want to bare your son
322.这可是梅珊当年红遍全城的时候 场场叫采的压轴戏呀	322.Meishan was famous for singing this opera
323.再不是当年了	323.That was years ago
秋	
324.这大院子里有点鬼气	324.This place is haunted Haunted? Nonsense!

胡说！哪来的鬼气	325. That room on the roof is haunted
325. 房顶上那间死人屋	326. There were two people hanged there so what!
326. 那屋子 不过就死了二个上吊的	327. What happened to them?
327. 为什么上吊	328. It must be because they were having secret affairs
328. 那还用问， 免不了是那些见不得人的事	329. Who were they?
329. 死的什么人哪	330. You don't know them anyway They are 2 women from past generations
330. 反正你也不认识 是上辈的两个女人吧	331. I guess they are Concubines?
331. 是姨太太吧	332. You don't know!
332. 不要胡说	333. What is it now?
333. 又怎么了	334. She's peeking at us
334. 她在偷看	335. Who is peeking at us? It is Yang
335. 谁在偷看 燕儿	336. <u>Nonsense!</u> <u>She can't see anything</u>
336. <u>这有什么好偷看的</u> <u>再说了什么也看不见</u>	337. You're always on her side I can smell her miles away
337. 你又护着她 隔多远，我都能闻见她身上那股骚味 儿	338. Who is it? Master
338. 谁呀 老爷	339. What is it?
339. 什么事儿 Housekeeper: 该吃饭了	340. The Fourth Mistresses' stewed Tofu with Spinach and bean sprouts are ready
340. 四太太的菠菜豆腐 豆芽菜都做好了	341. and the other mistresses are waiting for you
341. 大太太、二太太、三太太 都等着呢	342. I'm not going Let them bring my dishes here
342. 我不去！ 让他们把饭端上来	343. That's not right we should go or they'll gossip
343. 这不合适， 还是到前面去吃，省得被她们笑话	344. <u>So what!</u> <u>I don't care for their gossip</u>
344. <u>又是她们，笑话怕什么？</u> <u>我就要在这儿吃</u>	345. Alright, we'll eat here Go and tell them to bring the food here
345. 好好好，端过来吃 去！让她们把饭菜端上来	346. The Master said that you Mistresses go ahead and eat

346. 老爷请几位太太先用	347. He isn't joining you and dishes will be taken to the Fourth Mistress' room
347. 老爷说他不过来吃了 叫把饭端到四太太房里去	348. It is not our usual custom perhaps it is Fourth Mistress' idea
348. 府上可从来没这规矩呀 怕是四太太的意思吧	349. Third sister, don't get upset it is not worth it
349. 三妹, 犯不着这样	350. Let's eat
350. 吃饭吧	351. Big sister, I want to eat over my room if lanterns are lit at my quarter
351. 大姐, 今几个我可把话说在前头 往后只要在我三院点灯, 我也把饭端回去吃	352. <u>Don't be childish! It is totally disrespectful to Big sister</u>
352. 尽胡说, 你也这么不懂事啊 <u>你把咱们大姐往哪儿放?</u>	353. What do I care? I'm already an old woman
353. 我算什么 我早就是老古董了	354. This family will be ruin by you sooner or later
354. 陈家早晚败在你们手里	355. Who is playing the flute?
355. 是谁在吹笛子	356. That's master's son he just got back this morning
356. 是我们大少爷 今天早上才回来	357. Feipu is he the son of the First Mistress?
357. 是大太太那个叫 飞浦的儿子吧	358. I heard he has been away for sometime
358. 听说一直在外面	359. He's very busy with business
359. 我们大少爷可忙了	360. he's leaving for Yunnan to morrow morning
360. 明天早上又要走 去云南做生意	361. Are you Songlian?
361. 你是颂莲吧	362. You shouldn't call me by my name
362. 按辈分儿, 你不该喊我的名字	363. How should I call you? Should I call you Fourth Mistress?
363. 应该怎么叫, 叫你四太太	364. Did the music bring you here?
364. 是我的笛声把你引来了吧	365. Go on, I don't mean to interrupt you
365. 你接著吹吧, 不打扰你了	366. Are you playing flute?
366. 你会吹吗	367. Feipu, come down here!
367. 飞浦, 飞浦, 你给我下来	368. My mother is calling me I must go
368. 我母亲叫我有事 那我先走了	369. Yang!
369. 燕儿, 燕儿 Yaner: 哎	370. Come here

370.你来	371.Did you open my suitcase?
371.你动没动过我的箱子啊	372.I did but only to put your clothes away
372.前一阵子我给您收拾箱子 我把衣服都叠好了	373.Did you see my flute in the case?
373.那你看没看见里面的笛子	374.No That's men's toy
374.笛子？我没见， 男人才玩笛子呢	375.You stole my flute!
375.你偷了我的笛子	376.Why would I steal your flute?
376.四太太，你可不要随便糟践人，我偷 你的笛子干什么	377.You're always sneaking around
377.你成天鬼鬼祟祟的	378.Stop pretending you are innocent Don't accuse me for something I didn't do
378.还装著没事儿 四太太，你可不要冤枉好人	379.You could check with the Master
379.你去问问老爷	380. <u>and the other mistresses if</u> <u>I ever take anything that isn't mine</u>
380.大太太、二太太 <u>我什么时候拿过别人一个子儿</u>	381.Fourth Mistress I really didn't take your flute
381.四太太 我真的没拿你的笛子	382.I didn't!
382.四太太，我真没拿	383.I didn't take it!
383.四太太，我没拿	384.Don't go in! I didn't take your flute!
384.你别进去！ 我真的没拿	385.Don't go in! I didn't take your flute!
385.四太太，你别进去 我真的没拿你的笛子	386.What are you afraid of? You must be hiding something
386.你这么怕我进去 你心里一定有鬼	387.I am going inside to take a look!
387.我非要进去看看没 四太太	388.How dare you light lanterns inside your room!
388.好哇，你敢偷偷的点灯笼	389. <u>Lanterns aren't for servant to enjoy</u> <u>you are fully aware of the rules here</u>
389. <u>这灯笼是你一个丫鬟随便点的吗？</u> <u>府上的规矩你知不知道？</u>	390. <u>I suppose you don't care</u> <u>what could happen to you</u>
390. <u>你还想不想活了？</u>	391.I beg you please don't say anything
391.四太太，我求求你了，你可千万不要 往外讲啊	392.Alright, then give me back my flute
392.好！我不讲，你把笛子还给我	393.I really didn't take you flute
393.四太太，我真的没拿，我真的没拿你的 笛子	394.Fourth Mistress, please
	395."Songlian"

394.四太太	396.You've put a curse on me! You curse me to die!
395.“颂莲”	
396.你想咒我死啊你，你想咒我死啊你 你想咒我死啊你，你想咒我死，你 想...	397.Don't cry I shouldn't treat you poorly
397.好啦！你也别哭了 我也不该这样对待你	398.Let's forget what had happened
398.事情过去就过去了，我也不记你的仇	399.You can't read or write and you don't know how to write my name
399.不过，你不识字 你不会写我的名字	400.Tell me, who wrote my name for you?
400.你告诉我，那个字是谁给你写的	401.I can't tell you
401.我不，我不能说	402.Don't be afraid
402.你别怕，	403.Tell me who wrote it and I'll not mention anything the lanterns
403.你告诉我字是谁写的 你偷偷点灯笼的事情，我不会给你说 出去的	404.Is it the First Mistress?
404.是大太太	405.Then it must be the Third Mistress
405.那肯定是三太太梅珊了	406.It's the Second Mistress!
406.是二太太卓云	407.Zhuoyun!
407.是卓云！	408.Zhuoyun!
408.卓云！	409.Anyone upset you again?
409.怎么了？谁又惹你了？	410.What did you do with my flute?
410.你把我的笛子弄到哪儿去了？	411.I didn't want it to distract you so I took it away
411.怕你分心， 把它收起来了	412.Who gave you the flute?
412.那笛子是谁送给你的	413.It belongs to my father
413.我父亲的遗物	414.Sorry for being suspicious
414.怪我多心了	415.I thought it might be a gift by a boy from your school
415.我还以为是哪个男学生送你的	416.Where is it? Give it back to me
416.笛子呢？ 还给我吧	417.I burned it
417.这可坏了，我把它烧了	418.You burned it?
418.烧了？	419.It's only a flute I'll buy you several good ones
419.好了，好了，不就是支笛子吗 我再让他们去给你买几支好的	420.I hate people give me attitude

420.我最恨别人给我脸色看	421.Then you should go to Zhuoyun she is all smiling all the time
421.那你去卓云那儿好了 反正她成天都是笑咪咪的	422.You get what you ask for
422.去就去	423.Light the lanterns at the second quarter!
423.二院点灯	424.Fourth sister
424.四妹！	425.Fourth sister Yang said you don't feel good
425.四妹！ 我听燕儿说你不舒服了，啊？	426.You have no fever I guess you aren't sick, you are upset
426.不烫啊！ 大概不是生病，是生气了吧	427.What bring you here? Get up and give me a haircut
427.二姐有事吗 起来给我剪头发	428.Haircut?
428.剪头发？	429.I don't know how to cut hair You should as the other sisters
429.我可不会剪 你还是找大姐、三姐她们去剪吧	430.They don't know anything about haircut
430.她们哪会呀	431.You are once university student and knew what's new out there
431.你是洋学生， 见过世面	432.So, I want you to give me a haircut! Come! Come on
432.我就要你剪 快起来，起来，来，来吧，来	433.Why do you suddenly want a haircut?
433.好好的怎么想起来剪头发来了	434.The Master spent the night with me last night
434.昨儿晚上，红灯不是点到我那院去了么	435.I said to him that I am getting old Guess what he relied?
435.我跟老爷说我老了 你猜老爷怎么说	436.He said I'd look younger with short hair
436.他说我要把头发剪短了就不显老了	437. <u>I must wear short hair</u> <u>since he had said so</u>
437.老爷既然都这么说了 <u>你说我能不能剪吗？</u>	438.Why don't' you go ahead? Come on, go ahead and cut!
438.哎，怎么不剪哪？ 剪哪	439.I've never done this before I am afraid that I may get you hurt
439.怕手生剪着了	440.Nonsense! Go ahead and cut
440.没事，剪吧	441.Alright...
441.那我可剪了	442.My ear!
442.我的耳朵，我的耳朵	443.My ear!
443.我的耳朵	444.Second Mistress, what happened to you?

444.二太太，你怎么了？	445.My ear!
445.我的耳朵，我的耳朵	446.Go away, there is nothing to watch go get a doctor soon
446.去，都走，看什么？ 还不快给二太太请大夫去	447.Third sister, what's so funny?
447.三姐，你笑什么？	448.I'd cut her ear off if I don't like her and I'd cut off the ear completely
448.我要是恨谁呀，也会把她的耳朵剪掉 全部剪掉一点都不剩	449. <u>You think I did it on purpose?</u>
449. <u>你这是什么意思？难道说我是故意的 吗</u>	450.Only god knows
450.那只有天知道了	451.Zhuoyun is someone with a Buddha's face and a scorpion's heart
451.卓云这个人啊 是菩萨脸，蝎子心	452.but she's the true tricky one
452.她的坏点子比谁都多	453.You may feel I am a rival to you
453.你别看我跟你闹	454.I just play with you and I dislike Zhuoyun the most
454.其实我最恨的是她	455.I can't be a match to her perhaps you can
455.我知道，我不是她的对手 也许你倒是能跟她斗一斗	456.I think you could be tougher than me when I first saw you
456.这个，我第一次看到你的时候 就猜到了	457.Have you heard anything about what happened to her
457.你知道我和她	458.and me when we gave babies?
458.-生孩子的事吗	459.We both became pregnant about the same time
459.我们两个人 是差不多时间怀孕的	460.She slipped abortion medicine
460.在我三个月的时候	461.into my food when I was around three month pregnant
461.她暗地里叫人在我的饭碗里 放堕胎药	462.... Fortunately I was saved from miscarriage
462.这会儿我命大 胎儿没掉下来	463.When we were close to due dates she wanted to have her baby before me
463.后来，两人差不多同时又生 她又想生在我前头	464.so she had paid for expensive injections to have early delivery
464.花了好多钱 打了外国的什么催产针，把底下那个 都撑破了	465.She suffered long and great pain but only had a little girl
465.结果还是我命大，先生了飞兰，还是 个男的	466.I had a boy, Feilan born three hours before her baby girl
466.她是竹篮打水一场空	

<p>生了个易珍，不过是个小贱货吗 还比我们飞兰晚了三个小时呢</p> <p>467.四妹，你刚来 老爷对你的新鲜劲儿还没过去</p> <p>468.往后时间一长你要是不个陈家添个儿子 苦日子就在后头呢！</p> <p>469.虽说你是个读书的 我是个唱戏的</p> <p>470.我们这种人，都是一回事儿</p> <p>471.怎么搞的吗</p> <p>472.老爷， 您昨儿才来了一个晚上</p> <p>473.四妹就把我恨成这个样子 差点儿</p> <p>474.-要了我的命</p> <p>475.高医生说， 剪子再斜一点，就剪到我的血管了</p> <p>476.不是没有那么严重吗</p> <p>477.都怪您 说我头发剪短了显年轻</p> <p>478.这可倒，倒好，她就下了狠心</p> <p>479.姐妹之间不至于</p> <p>480.好了，好了 从今天晚上起，我多陪你几天</p> <p>481.二院点灯</p> <p>482.二太太， 四太太来看您来了</p> <p>483.四妹来了</p> <p>484.二姐 快坐</p> <p>485.二姐怎么样了 高医生来看过了，说不要紧的</p> <p>486.真对不住你， 我也不是故意的</p> <p>487.四妹你多心了，谁说你是故意的了 咱们姐妹一直都挺好的，这事儿可别往心里去</p> <p>488.说句笑话，我还得谢谢四妹呢</p>	<p>467.You're new here and the Master hasn't get tired of you yet</p> <p>468.But if you don't give him a son it will be hard time ahead of you</p> <p>469.You were a student and I was an opera singer</p> <p>470.our lives are not far different</p> <p>471.What happened?</p> <p>472.Master you just spent one night with me.....</p> <p>473.and fourth sister got so jealous and she almost</p> <p>474.killed me</p> <p>475.Doctor Gao said she almost cut into my artery</p> <p>476.It isn't that bad!</p> <p>477.It was caused by you You said I'd look younger with a haircut</p> <p>478.So, it gave her an excuse to hurt me</p> <p>479.It is not likely that she meant to hurt you</p> <p>480.I'll make it up for you and stay with you for a few nights</p> <p>481.Light the lanterns at the second quarter!</p> <p>482.Second Mistress Fourth Mistress is here to see you</p> <p>483.Hi, Fourth sister</p> <p>484.Hi, Second sister! Sit down, please</p> <p>485.How are you doing? Doctor Gao said it wasn't serious</p> <p>486.I'm so sorryI didn't mean to hurt you</p> <p>487.No one said you meant to hurt me We are friends, don't feel bad</p> <p>488.Besides, I should probably thank you.. If not because this incident</p> <p>489.the Master wouldn't have stay with me</p>
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要不是你那一剪子， 489.这些日子 老爷也不会一直守著我呀	for a few nights
490.轻点，曹二婶	490.Be gentle, Auntie Cao
491.二姐要是没事儿的话，我回去了	491.I should go now, since you feel OK
492.走好， 我不送了	492.Alright Bye now
493.燕儿	493.Yang!
494.燕儿	494.Yang!
495.什么事，四太太	495.What is it, Fourth Mistress?
496.你跑到哪儿去了	496.Where have you been?
497.过来给我捏捏脚	497.Come, give me foot massage...
498.捏脚？我不会	498.I don't know how to give foot massage
499.让你捏，你就捏	499.You do as I say
500.轻点儿	500.Be gentle
501.让你轻点儿，你听见没有	501.I said be gentle!
502.我说我不会吗	502.I told you I don't know how to massage
503.有本事 你让曹二婶替你捶呀	503.You should get Auntie Cao to give you a massage!
504.不会捏，就别捏了	504.Forget it!
505.我有没有本事， 慢慢走著瞧吧	505.Yes, I should get Auntie Cao.... and I will show you....
506.真有喜了 有了	506.Is she really pregnant? Yes
507.我就觉得四太太 这两天不对劲吗	507.Fourth Mistress doesn't seem feeling well lately
508.老爷大喜了 这回又得添个大胖少爷了	508.Congratulations, Master You'll have another son.....
509.恭喜老爷！老爷，照老规矩 从今天开始，	509.Going by our customs lanterns should be lit day
510.不分白天黑夜 这四院就得点长明灯了	510.and night in the forth quarter from today
511.对、对、对！点长明灯 长明、长明、长命百岁	511.Right, day and night it is a symbol of longevity
512.快去点灯	512.Go light the lanterns in forth quarter

冬	
513.四太太，喝点米粥吧	513.Fourth Mistress, have some rice soup
514.曹二婶，有人说我没本事 请不动您哪	514.Aunt Cao, someone said I couldn't get you to give me foot massage
515.哎呦，可不敢当，谁这么瞎说四太太	515.Who dare to make such a comment?
516.您这会儿身子可金贵了	516.You need to be well taken care of now
517.您什么时候招呼 我都得来好好伺候您哪	517.I will be here to serve you whenever you want me to
518.大太太， 我给四院送饭去了	518.First Mistress I'm bringing food to Forth Mistress
519.大姐， 您当初怀飞浦少爷的时候，	519.Big sister did you receive such a special treat
520.也这样吗	520.when you were pregnant with young master Feipu?
521.吃你的饭吧	521.Mind your own business
522.三妹到底是唱戏的 连笑的都透着好听	522.Third sister is truly a singer your laugh sounds like singing
523.好听不算什么	523.Laughing is nothing
524.要是四妹也生个少爷 怕是有人	524.I am afraid someone
525.脸上就不好看了	525.here might be crying if forth sister gives birth to a son
526.这么多菜， 还堵不住嘴	526.I wonder why all the food we have here can't stop you two from bitching!
527.二太太，老爷吩咐 您吃完饭到四院去一趟	527.Second Mistress, Master wants you to come to the fourth quarter now
528.什么事	528.Why?
529.这些日子四太太身子不爽快	529.The Fourth Mistress isn't feeling well
530.老爷说让您去给四太太捏捏后背	530.and the Master wants you to give her a back massage
531.四太太怎么知道我会捏	531.How does she know I am good at massage?
532.咳，这还用问吗，当然是老爷说给四 妹的	532.The master must have told her
533.是老爷的意思吗 老爷就这么吩咐的	533.Is it Master's idea? Yes, the master said so
534.二姐，去就去吗	534.Second sister, you should go
535.把你伺候老爷的那套本事，都使出来 吗， 不会吃亏的	535.and give her a good message just like what you do for the master
	536.The master will be nice to you

536.你把四妹伺候好了 老爷不也高兴了	if fourth sister is pleased
537.怎么样，舒坦点了吧	537.So, do you feel better now?
538.嗯，好多了	538.Yes, I feel much better now
539.二姐，手再轻点	539.Be gentle, second sister
540.对，就这样儿	540.Right, keep messaging
541.不会吧！ 你可看清楚了，是身上来了	541.It can't be! Are you sure it's period?
542.反正有点像	542.It looks like period
543.燕儿，燕儿	543.Yang, Yang
544.四太太	544.Yes, Fourth Mistress
545.你去哪儿了？ 慌慌张张的	545.What are you up to? You seem nervous?
546.你见我那条白裤子了吗 我已经洗了	546.Have you seen my white pants? I washed them already
547.洗了	547.You did!
548.白啭千声随意移	548.How happily they dance and sing in the sky
549.山花红紫树高低	549.Lush are the mountain flowers and the trees high and low!
550.始知锁向金笼听	550.Locked in a golden cage I pine away
551.不及林间自在啼	551.Let me return to the forest to sing my carefree songs!
552.好，下一首	552.Good, the next poem
553.月落乌啼霜满天	553.The moon goes down crows cry under the frosty sky
554.江枫渔火对愁眠	554.Dimly lit fishing boats beneath maples sadly lie
555.姑苏城外寒山寺	555.Beyond the Gusu walls the Temple of Cold Hill
556.夜半钟声到客船	556.Ringing bells reach my boat breaking the midnight still
557.好，不错	557.Well done!
558.老爷， 二太太有事找您	558.Master the Second Mistress is here to see you
559.老爷，我看，四妹这两天	559.Master, Fourth sister doesn't look too good lately

气色不大好，	560.I am just concerned if she is feeling OK
560.人也没精神	561.I don't like to see anything happen to her
561.可别像我当年怀易珍时候那样	562.since I almost had a miscarriage when I was pregnant
562.差点小产了 都不知道	563.You should have Doctor Gao to take a look at her
563.我想，得请高医生 来给看看了	564.Right, good you remind me
564.对，你不提醒我倒疏忽了	565.Go get Doctor Gao here to check the Fourth Mistress tomorrow
565.管家，明个儿请高医生到府上 给四太太好好看看	566.Yes, Master
566.是，老爷	567.Are you done, Doctor Gao?
567.高医生，给四太太看完病了 看好了 高医生，请	568.Where is the Master? I need to speak to him
568.陈老爷在哪儿？ 我有话要跟他说	569.This way, please
569.我这就带您去	570.Doctor Gao...you're here
570.高医生，高医生来了	571.Third Mistress
571.噢，是三太太	572.are you feeling better with the medicine I subscribed to you?
572.上回给你开的药 吃了怎么样	573.Yes, I am. Although I just can't sleep through the night
573.好多了， 就是夜里总睡不踏实	574.I'll give you the prescription when I done here
574.噢，那我抽空再给您换二付药	575.OK.
575.好啊	576.How is fourth sister?
576.给四妹看过病了，怎么样	577.I can't explain now I'll tell you later
577.一下子说不清楚， 回头再说	578.Doctor Gao! Second Mistress!
578.高医生 噢，二太太	579.How is fourth sister? Is she OK?
579.四妹怎么样， 不要紧吧	580.I should talk with the master first
580.还是跟老爷说吧	581.Thank you for coming, doctor Sure
581.高医生又受累了 哪里，哪里	582.Please have some tea
582.请坐，先喝杯热茶 好	583.How is fourth sister?

583.高医生，四妹怎么样	584.I am not sure how to begin....
584.有些话，不知道该不该说	585.Go, leave us alone for moment Is anything wrong with Songlian?
585.你们都出去，我跟高医生谈 怎么，颂莲有什么不好	586.Master the Fourth Mistress isn't pregnant
586.陈老爷， 四太太没有身孕	587.What? Is it true?
587.你说什么， 当真	588.I checked her carefully She isn't pregnant
588.我已然仔细检查过 四太太确实没有身孕	589.How dare you play tricks and pretend you are pregnant
589.混账， 居然骗到我的头上来了	590.Why did you lie?
590.你说，为什么要骗我？快说，你为什么 要骗我？	591.You should have checked out
591.你简直没有王法了，你也不打听打 听，	592. <u>our family rules that have been exercising for generations</u>
592. <u>我们陈家世代代都是什么规矩？</u>	593.How dare you made such a lie!
593.你好大的胆子	594.Put out the lanterns and cover it What did you say, Master?
594.封灯 老爷，您说什么	595.Cover the lanterns!
595.封灯	596.Cover the lanterns!
596.封灯	597.Yang, how come Doctor Gao came by to check me all of a sudden?
597.燕儿，好好的，高医生怎么来了	598.Where are my white pants?
598.我那条白裤子呢	599.Let me go get them
599.我这就去拿	600.You are a savant, yet you secretly light lanterns in your room
600.一个丫鬟， 偷着在屋里点灯笼	601.Lanterns are only for mistresses not for savants
601.这灯笼是你随便点的吗	602. <u>Do you have any respect for the mistresses?</u>
602. <u>你眼里都有什么人，你把我们这些当 太太的 往哪儿搁</u>	603. <u>Shouldn't we run her by our family rules?</u>
603. <u>陈府还有没有规矩了</u>	604.Forth sister, don't be upset
604.四妹别生气，	605.it is not worth to get upset at a savant
605.有话慢慢说嘛 犯不着与那些下人一般见识	606.It is true, but we have to run her by our family rules
606.那不行，	

这可是府上的规矩	607.Rules are rules but we all make mistakes now and then
607.府上的规矩当然是规矩 可谁都难免有个错啊	608.Frankly, I'd remind you that your lanterns had just been put off and covered
608.四妹别嫌我把话说白了 你不也刚被老爷封了灯吗	609.I am still the Fourth Mistress regardless my lanterns are off
609.封了灯 我也是太太	610.I am the Mistress and she is the savant nothing could change that
610.我告诉你太太就是太太，丫鬟就是丫鬟	611.Big sister, you are in charge the family now since the Master isn't home now
611.大姐，今几个老爷不在 当着陈家上上下下，这些人的面，你说句话	612.I got my punishment because I challenged family rule
612.我犯了规矩 封我的灯	613.a savant should receive punishment also if she broke the rules
613.丫鬟犯了规矩 该不该处置	614.What do you say?
614.怎么处置？	615.Take care of her by family customs!
615.照老规矩办	616.The First Mistress said you could get up if you admit you did wrong
616.太太太吩咐 你认个错就放你起来	617. <u>What is the bid deal to admit you did wrong!</u>
617. <u>就认个错又怎么了？</u> <u>何必呢</u>	618.Get her to take some of this hot ginger tea
618.姜汤要趁热喝	619.so she could sweat and get rid of the fever
619.不然发不了汗	620.Has doctor been here to see Yang yet?
620.大夫来过了吧？	621.He came to see her several times and subscribed medicine
621.吃了几付药了，不管用	622.but she isn't getting any better
622.看来啊，燕儿病的不轻	623.The Master's back and said to send Yang to hospital
623.噢，老爷也回来了 说是不行啊，就赶紧送医院	624.Never thought the Fourth Mistress is so vicious!
624.真看不出， 四太太比谁都恶	625.Poor Yang is in her mercy now
625.谁叫燕儿犯在她手里了	626.Housekeeper Yes, Master
626.管家 是，老爷	627.Get her good doctor and medicine never mind the cost
627.尽量用好药，	

钱不要在乎	628. We don't want people to gossip that we don't care for our servant
628. 不要让人家 说咱们不管下人的死活	629. Got it, Master
629. 是	630. Light the lanterns at the second house!
630. 二院点灯	631. Fourth sister what are you doing here so early?
631. 四妹 一大早你待在这儿干什么	632. I am here to listen to you singing you sing so well
632. 我在这儿听三姐唱戏 三姐的戏唱的真好	633. Whether I sing well or not I am putting up a play
633. 咳！什么好不不好的 本来就是做戏吗	634. Our lives are plays we fool others when we play well
634. 戏做的好 能骗别人	635. we could fool no one but ourselves when we play poorly
635. 做的不好 只能骗自己	636. when we couldn't satisfy ourselves we could only fool ghosts
636. 连自己都骗不了的时候 那只能骗骗鬼了	637. We live breathing, ghosts don't
637. 人跟鬼	638. that's the only difference between us and the ghosts
638. 就差一口气	639. In the way, people are ghosts and ghosts are people
639. 人就是鬼， 鬼就是人	640. Don't mind me for saying
640. 四妹，不是我说你	641. but you shouldn't have made such a big deal about Yang
641. 你犯不上跟燕儿 小题大做	642. She is just a savant dreaming of becoming a mistress
642. 她偷著挂灯笼，就挂去呗 不就是丫鬟想做太太梦吗	643. She's just the scapegoat I was after someone else
643. 我不是小题大做 我是杀鸡给猴看	644. You are right
644. 倒也是，	645. she's only a maid with little power and someone must be behind her
645. 她一个小丫鬟，能有多大能耐 还不是背后有人	646. Look Zhuoyun was all overjoyed last night she thinks no one knows her tricks
646. 你看卓云昨晚点灯时那个骚样儿 她以为她能兴风作浪	647. I'll take care of her soon!
647. 看我什么时候好好治她一下	648. Light the lanterns, put out the lanterns cover the lanterns, I don't care
648. 点灯，灭灯，封灯 我真的无所谓了	649. <u>I just don't get what people are valued here</u>

649.我就是不明白在这个院儿里，人算个 <u>你什么东西</u>	650.We are like cats, dogs or rats but certainly not people
650.像狗、像猫、像耗子 什么都像，就是不像人	651.Perhaps it is better to hang myself in that room on the roof
651.我站在这儿总在想 还不如吊死在那间死人屋里	652.Stop talking about hanging yourself up
652.四妹，可别乱说什么死不死的	653.Why think about what people are like? Just accept what you are
653.咳，管它像什么 就这么活吧	654.Don't be so groovy Look at me, I try to be happy
654.你这个样子也不是回事儿 你看我，成天嘻嘻哈哈的，还不是自 己给自己寻开心吗	655.Of course you're happy
655.三姐当然可以寻开心	656.You could go to see Doctor Gao anytime you like
656.你可以去找你那个相好的高医生吗	657.What are you up to?
657.你这是什么意思	658.Nothing I should thank him for coming to see me
658.没什么意思， 他给我查病，我还没谢过他呢	659.You better not to mention it to anyone otherwise I will not forgive you
659.我告诉你，这可不是闹着玩的 你要敢跟别人胡说八道，我这人可什 么都干的出来	660.To be honest, I'm going to see him now
660.我实话跟你说，我待会儿就去找高医 生	661. <u>and I don't believe anyone could stop me from seeing him</u>
661. <u>看你们能把我怎么样</u>	662.Fourth Mistress...
662.四太太	663.Why didn't you respond? I thought you are not here
663.呦，您在屋里啊 吓了我一跳，我还当没人呢	664.Master has assigned me to be your maid from now on
664.老爷啊，叫我来伺候您 说不再找丫鬟了	665.I may be old, but I'm lot more experienced than young maids
665.不找也好，虽说我老，可有老的好处 不像年轻姑娘那么不懂事	666.Go get me some liqueur for me What did you say?
666.你去给我买些酒来 什么？四太太，我没听清楚	667.Go get some liquer for me today's my birthday
667.去给我买些酒来 今天是我的生日	668.It's your birthday? How old are you?
668.哎呦，您生日啊 多大了	669.20
669.二十	670.Why didn't you mention it earlier? I'll go get some liqueur for me
670.你怎么不早说，都不知道啊 那是得喝点，我这就去	671.Here is the liqueur



671.四太太，酒打回来了	672.Why are you looking at me that way? Yang has just past
672.你怎么这样看著我 燕儿死了	673.away in the hospital
673.死在医院里了	674.When did it happen? I don't know
674.什么时候死的 不知道	675.But others said she was mumbling your name before she died
675.光听说，临死喊你的名字	676. <u>Why?</u> <u>Did she thing I cause her death?</u>
676. <u>她喊我的名字干什么</u> <u>难道是我把她害死的</u>	677.I don't know, I told you what I heard
677.我听人说了就告诉你	678.She can't blame you, it's her destiny
678.生死是天命，怪不着太太	679.Where is she now?
679.现在尸体呢	680.Her family took her back home
680.让她家里人抬回乡下去了	681.They are all devastated, it is sad
681.一家人哭哭啼啼的好可怜呦	682.Why sad?
682.也没什么好哭的	683.It's better to be dead free from misery than to be alive and trapped
683.活着受苦， 死了倒干净	684.So, in the way, she is free now
684.死了比活着好	685.Fourth Mistress, you'd stop drinking! You're drunk!
685.哎呀四太太，你别喝了 你看你已经醉了呀	686.I want to drink, it's my birthday I am turning 20
686.没醉，宋妈， 我今天高兴	687.Young master, you're home
687.大少爷回来了	688.Please talk to the Fourth Mistress She's drunk!
688.大少爷，快去劝劝四太太吧 喝酒都喝醉了	689.You're here, young master
689.大少爷你回来了	690.Why are you drinking?
690.你怎么喝起酒来了	691.Sit down, please
691.坐吧	692.I'm celebrating my own birthday
692.我是自己给自己祝寿呢	693.Have a drink, it is for my birthday
693.你要不要喝一杯，给我祝祝寿	694.Alright, I'll have some May you live to 99 year old
694.好啊，我喝一杯 祝你活到九十九	695.Nonsense I don't want to live that long
695.胡扯！我才不要活这么长呢	696.Save these phony words for someone else

696.这好听的话，说给你父亲听去	I need them
697.事情我都听说了 你也真蠢	697.I heard what had happened You're so foolish!
698.怀孕那种事， 做假能假的几天	698. <u>How long could you lie about being pregnant?</u>
699.我蠢？ 我不蠢	699.I am Foolish! I'm not
700.我早就算计好了， 开始是假的	700.I had my plans It was a lie to begin with
701.只要老爷天天到我这儿 日子久了	701.but it would have become real if the Master spent the nights
702.不就成了真的了	702.with me all the time
703.我在算计这事儿 她们在背后算计我	703.While I had it all planned out the others were plotting against me
704.整天你算计我 我算计你	704.Everyone has her own agenda and is plotting against each other
705.斗来斗去有什么意思	705. <u>I don't understand that our live is all about</u>
706.这是我从云南带来的 送你做个生日礼物	706.This is something I got from Yunnan take it as your birthday gift
707.这东西只有女人送给男人 哪有反过来的道理呀	707. <u>Well, this is kind of gift men receive from women, not a gift for women</u>
708.不要算了，本来就是别人送的	708.Never mind, it is something given to me
709.好啊，虚情假意	709.You are such a Hypocrite!
710.哪个女人送你的	710.Who knows what kind of lady gave it to you!
711.我拿了不脏了我的手	711.It could be an insult to me
712.没打算送你， 骗骗你的	712.I am just fooling around with you take easy
713.骗我？	713.You are fooling around with me!
714.我被人骗惯了	714.You are right, I should have been used to being fooled by now
715.人人都骗我，你也骗我	715.Everyone is fooling me including you
716.你出去， 出去	716.Get out! Get out of here!
717.飞浦	717.Feipu!
	718.I'm leaving

718.我告辞了	719.Master!
719.老爷	720.Fourth Mistress please don't drink anymore!
720.四太太	721.Why is she drinking?
721.你怎么喝起酒来了 我没喝酒	722.Go get some medicine from the First Mistress
722.去，喊大太太拿解酒药来	723.Don't go, I don't want to get medicine from that old witch!
723.你不许去 你别去叫那个老巫婆，你别去...找那个老巫婆	724.You are out of your mind you should be shame of yourself
724.看你这个疯样儿 不怕人笑话	725. <u>Why should I?</u> <u>I have nothing to lose</u>
725.谁笑话我呀 <u>我有什么？我有什么？</u>	726.The Master is yours now
726.你有老爷疼你，	727.and Meishan has gone to meet her secrete lover, Doctor Gao
727.梅珊去找她那个相好的高医生去了	728.What do I have? I've nothing! Nothing!
728.我有什么 我什么都没有，我什么都没有	729.Where is Meishan?
729.梅珊干什么去了？	730.She's gone to see Doctor Gao And me, I have nothing, nothing...
730.她找那个相好的高医生去了 我有什么？我有什么？我什么都没有	731.When did the Third Mistress leave? We don't know
731.三太太什么时候出去的 我不知道	732. <u>What should I be afraid of?</u> <u>I have nothing to lose!</u>
732. <u>我怕什么</u> <u>我什么也没有</u>	733.Big sister!
733.大姐	734.The medicine is here pour down to her throat
734.好了，醒酒药来了 快点，快给她灌药	735.I am not going to drink it! I'm not drunk!
735.我不喝， 我没醉	736. <u>Don't just stand there!</u> <u>Hold that crazy woman</u>
736. <u>你们怎么都不动手啊</u>	737.and pour the medicine down to her throat
737.给这个疯货点厉害	738.Hold her still! Quick make her drink all
738.按住，按住她！ 灌！	739.Get out! Get out
739.滚出去！滚出去	740.Forget it! She has gone mad let her make a real fool of herself!
740.叫他闹，要出丑就出个够	

看她以后怎么见人	741.The Master is away and she is completely out of control
741.老爷不在家 又闹成这个样子	742.Fourth sister, are you awake?
742.四妹, 酒醒了	743.I'm glad you told me about Meishan yesterday
743.幸亏你昨天 跟我说了这事	744.Or it could become an embarrassing scandal!
744.要不然 说不定要出多大乱子	745.It's cold out here Go back to your room
745.太冷的天儿, 快回去吧	746.What happened?
746.宋妈, 怎么回事儿啊?	747.The Third Mistress and Doctor Gao met in a hotel downtown.....
747.是三太太和那个高医生啊 在城里的旅馆里	748.The Second Mistress caught them together in bed.....
748.被二太太带着人给堵住了 二太太让人把门踹开的时候, 他俩还 在被窝里呢	749.What a sin!
749.哎, 造孽呀	750.Why did the Second Mistress say I told her about Meishan and Doctor Gao?
750.刚才二太太说什么 她说是我说的	751.You did
751.是啊, 四太太,	752.You told her when you were drunk yesterday
752.您昨天喝醉了 说三太太要去会相好	753.I was so shocked when I heard you said so
753.当时连我也吓了一跳	754.I did?
754.我说的, 会是我说的?	755.You did!
755.是您说的	756.I wondered why you mentioned such a secret
756.我还寻思着 你怎么讲这事儿	757.perhaps you seek revenge on doctor Gao?
757.是恨那个高医生吧	758.You drank too much yesterday perhaps you don't remember what you did
758.您昨天喝多了 现在大概记不得了	759.What could happen to the Third Mistress?
759.那会把三姐怎么样	760.They've gone to get the Master
760.已经派人去请老爷了	761.Who knows what could happen to her but she is at their mercy
761.会怎么样? 该怎么样, 就怎么样咯	762.Go inside, or you might catch cold
762.四太太, 快回去歇着吧, 小心受凉咯	763.It is snowing heavily

763.今年这雪可真不好 瑞雪兆丰年	it is going to be a cold winter
764.杀人了！	764.Murderers!
765.杀人了！	765.Murderers!
766.杀人了！	766.Murderers!
767.老爷来了 老爷	767.The Master is back
768.你看见什么了？你到底看见什么了	768.What did you see?
769.你们杀人，梅珊死了 你们杀人、你们杀人	769.You saw Meishan is hung dead you are murders.. you are murders
770.胡说八道， 771.你看见什么了？ 你什么也没看见	770.Nonsense! 771.What did you see? You didn't see a thing!
772.杀人！杀人	772.You killed her, you killed her
773.你疯了！ 你已经疯了	773.You have gone mad! Completely gone mad
774.杀人！杀人！你们杀人	774.You killed her, you are murderers!
775.管家！	775.Housekeeper!
776.管家！管家！管家！管家！ 灯亮了，灯亮了	776.Housekeeper! The lanterns are lit!
777.什么事？	777.What happened?
778.三太太的屋里的灯亮了	778.The lanterns in the third quarter are lit!
779.不知道谁呀 把三太太屋里的灯给点亮了	779.Who lit the lanterns in Third Mistress' quarter?
780.什么，什么，哪屋灯亮了	780.Not us
781.闹鬼了， 三太太阴魂不散	781.It must be her spirit the Third Mistress' spirit!
782.闹鬼了	782.It is haunted
783.三太太唱戏？是三太太唱戏 闹鬼了，鬼呀，闹鬼了，鬼呀...	783.The Third Mistress is singing now! Her spirit is singing now, it's haunted!
第二年 夏	
784.管家陈百顺拜见五太太 恭贺五太太新婚大喜	784.I, the housekeeper welcome the Fifth Mistress
785.那女人是谁呀	785.Who is that woman?
786.噢，以前的四太太	786.She was our fourth Mistress
787.脑子有毛病了	787.She has complete gone mad Production Credit

**Appendix 4 Translation of Terms of Address *taitai* and *laoye* from *Raise the Red Lantern***

**Table 1 Translation of term of address *taitai* from *Raise the Red Lantern*<sup>7</sup>**

	ST with <i>taitai</i>	TT	Ways of translation
1	14. 哎呦，四太太是您哪！ 您等等，等等	You are the <b>fourth Mistress</b> please wait here	
2	20. 四太太，请进来吧	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> , please come in	
3	21. 你就是那个四太太啊	So you are the <b>Mistress</b> number 4!	
4	22. 对，我就是那个四太太 你把箱子给我拎进去	Right Bring my suitcase inside	Omitted
5	23. 四太太，往后您就住在这儿	This is your quarter	Omitted
6	28. 四太太，照府上的规矩， 该伺候您了	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> you should be served upon your arrival based on family customs	
7	30. 四太太，该给您梳头更衣了	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> , we're here to do your hair and help you change	
8	46. 三太太病了， 请老爷去	<b>Third Madam</b> is sick and she asks for you....	Madam
9	48. 三太太得的是急病，非要您去吗	It's urgent and <b>she</b> wants no one but you	Replaced with pronoun
10	50. 三太太要是有个三长两短 我们担待不起	If something serious happens to <b>her</b> we'll be blamed	Replaced with pronoun
11	55. 四太太！	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> ...	
12	56. 四太太	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> ...	
13	57. 四太太，照府上的老规矩	According to family's custom	Omitted
14	58. 我带您去拜见老祖宗跟三位太太 回头再用早点	you should pay a visit to the other three <b>Madams</b> before breakfast	Madams
15	61. 四太太，老规矩往后都马虎不得	It is important for everyone including you to obey them	Omitted
16	62. 四太太，拜见祖宗吧	Kowtow to our ancestors, please	Omitted
17	64. 老爷跟三太太还没起来， 要不待会儿再来吧	<b>They</b> are not up yet we'll come back in a while	Replaced with pronoun
18	65. 大太太，	<b>First Mistress</b>	
19	四太太向您请安来了	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> is here to see you	

<sup>7</sup> Note: The term of address *taitai* in the ST and its corresponding English subtitles are marked with bold letters. The last column is left blank if the translation of 'Mistress' is applied.

20	78. 二太太	<b>Second Mistress</b>	
21	四太太向您请安来了	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> is here to see you	
22	94. 四太太请用茶	Have tea, <b>Fourth Mistress</b>	
23	108. 如今又娶了你这么个年轻漂亮的新太太	Now that the master has a new <b>wife</b> young and pretty	Wife
24	116. 二太太, 时辰不早了	Excuse me, <b>Second Mistress</b>	
25	117. 四太太还要见过三太太呢	I'd better take	
26		<b>Fourth Mistress</b> to see <b>Third Mistress</b>	
27	118. 哎呦, 你看我光顾著说话三太太当然是要去见的	Sorry, I keep you occupied You do need to see the <b>third sister</b>	Sister
28	128. 那, 先拜见三太太吧	Let's go to see the <b>Third Mistress</b>	
29	129. 三太太说,	<b>Third Mistress</b> wants me to tell you	
30	131. 四太太, 这是三太太的少爷飞兰	Here is Feilan, <b>Third Mistress's</b> son	Omitted
31			
32	132. 跟二太太的易珍小姐同岁	He is same age as <b>Second Madame's</b> daughter, Miss Yizhen	Madame
33	134. 四太太...	<b>Four Mistress...</b>	
34	135. 四太太, 这是燕儿	<b>Four Mistress</b> This is Yang	
35	137. 燕儿, 还不快叫四太太	Yang, come to greet the <b>Fourth Mistress</b>	
36	138. 四太太	Yes, <b>Fourth Mistress</b>	
37	143. 去, 快过去叫四太太看看	Go and let <b>Fourth Mistress</b> take a look at your hair	
38	144. 快蹲下叫四太太看看头发	Kneel down, so that <b>Fourth Mistress</b> could take a good look at your hair	
39	146. 你没听四太太说话	Didn't you hear?	Omitted
40	149. 还不快去小心惹四太太生气, 去	Go to do it now! Don't upset <b>Fourth Mistress</b>	
41	152. 你可不能这样, 看著老爷喜欢你就想当太太了?	The Master like you, it doesn't mean that you will become one of his <b>wives</b>	Wife
42	153. 就算老爷这次不娶四太太也不会是你	If she wasn't married to the master <b>wife</b> # 4 wouldn't have been you, either	Wife
43	154. 你就不是当太太的命好好地侍候新来的四太太吧	Get real; you were born to be a servant!	Omitted
44		Do what <b>Fourth Mistress</b> asked !	
45	158. 老爷, 三太太马上就到	The <b>Third Mistress</b> is coming	
46	176. 四太太	<b>Fourth Mistress...</b>	
47	177. 四太太, 老爷吩咐下来叫四太太到大门口听招呼	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> , Master asks <b>you</b> to wait by the door for instructions	
48			Replaced with pronoun
49	179. 就是有劳太太在门口站一站	Well, it only takes a few minutes	Omitted

50	182. 这是府上多年的老规矩了 几位太太都去的	It's another old family custom it applies to every <b>Mistress</b>	
51	184. 新太太，头九天没这规矩	New <b>wife</b> doesn't have to wait during the first 9 days	Wife
52	191. 三太太说，她病又犯了 叫老爷过去	<b>Third Mistress</b> is sick again and she wants the master to go over to see her	
53	196. 告诉三太太， 今天我不过去了	Tell <b>Third Mistress</b> that I am not going to see her tonight!	
54	231. 怎么，又想起上我这儿来了？ 真舍得新太太那股儿新劲儿？	What bring you here? Tired of your new <b>wife</b> already?	Wife
55	265. 老爷进城去了 吩咐四位太太自己吃	The Master's out and there is no need to wait for him for lunch	Omitted
56	273. 四太太不是新娶的吗	I thought <b>Fourth Mistress</b> is new to the Master?	
57	279. 三太太请你去打麻将	<b>Third Mistress</b> asks you to play mahjong with her	
58	296. 这是我们四太太 刚来没几天	And this is our <b>Fourth Mistress</b> a new face to you	
59	297. 请坐，四太太 来吧	Please sit down Let's start	Omitted
60	298. 我们四太太啊，可是念过大学的， 不像我是个戏子	Our <b>Fourth Mistress</b> was a university student, and I was an opera singer	
61	307. 四太太被三太太叫去打牌了	<b>She</b> went playing majong with the <b>Third Mistress</b>	Replaced with pronoun
62			
63	311. 不见四太太 就到二太太院里去了	He couldn't find <b>you</b> so he went to the second house	Replaced with pronoun,
64			Omitted
65	317. 听说四太太 大学没有念完	I heard the <b>Fourth Mistress</b> was once going to university	
66	331. 是姨太太吧	I guess they are <b>Concubines</b> ?	Concubines
67	340. 四太太的菠菜豆腐 豆芽菜都做好了	The <b>Fourth Mistresses'</b> stewed Tofu with Spinach and bean sprouts are ready	
68	341. 大太太、二太太、三太太 都等着呢	and the other <b>mistresses</b> are waiting for you	
69	346. 老爷请几位太太先用	The Master said that you <b>Mistresses</b> go ahead and eat	
70	347. 老爷说他不过来吃了 叫把饭端到四太太房里去	He isn't joining you and dishes will be taken to the <b>Fourth Mistress'</b> room	
71	348. 府上可从来没这规矩呀 怕是四太太的意思吧	It is not our usual custom perhaps it is <b>Fourth Mistress'</b> idea	
72	357. 是大太太那个叫 飞浦的儿子吧	Feipu is he the son of the <b>First Mistress</b> ?	
73	363. 应该怎么叫， 叫你四太太	How should I call you? Should I call you <b>Fourth Mistress</b> ?	



74	376. 四太太，你可不要随便糟践人 我偷你的笛子干什么	Why would I steal your flute?	Omitted
75	378. 还装著没事儿 四太太，你可不要冤枉好人	Stop pretending you are innocent Don't accuse me for something I didn't do	Omitted
76	380. 大太太、二太太 我什么时候拿过别人一个子儿	and the other <b>mistresses</b> if I ever take anything that isn't mine	
77	381. 四太太 我真的没拿你的笛子	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> I really didn't take your flute	
78	382. 四太太，我真没拿	I didn't!	Omitted
79	383. 四太太，我没拿	I didn't take it!	Omitted
80	385. 四太太，你别进去 我真的没拿你的笛子	Don't go in! I didn't take your flute!	Omitted
81	387. 我非要进去看看没 四太太	I am going inside to take a look!	Omitted
82	391. 四太太，我求求你了，你可千万 不要往外讲啊	I beg you please don't say anything	Omitted
83	393. 四太太，我真的没拿，我真的没 拿你的笛子	I really didn't take you flute	Omitted
84	394. 四太太	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> , please	
85	404. 是大太太	Is it the <b>First Mistress</b> ?	
86	405. 那肯定是三太太梅珊了	Then it must be the <b>Third Mistress</b>	
87	406. 是二太太卓云	It's the <b>Second Mistress</b> !	
88	444. 二太太，你怎么了？	<b>Second Mistress</b> , what happened to you?	
89	446. 去，都走，看什么？ 还不快给二太太请大夫去	Go away, there is nothing to watch go get a doctor soon	Omitted
90	482. 二太太，	<b>Second Mistress</b>	
91	四太太来看您来了	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> is here to see you	
92	495. 什么事，四太太	What is it, <b>Fourth Mistress</b> ?	
93	507. 我就觉得四太太 这两天不对劲吗	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> doesn't seem feeling well lately	
94	513. 四太太，喝点米粥吧	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> , have some rice soup	
95	515. 哎哟，可不敢当，谁这么瞎说四 太太	Who dare to make such a comment?	Omitted
96	518. 大太太， 我给四院送饭去了	<b>First Mistress</b> I'm bringing food to Forth Mistress	
97	527. 二太太，老爷吩咐 您吃完饭到四院去一趟	<b>Second Mistress</b> , Master wants you to come to the fourth quarter now	
98	529. 这些日子四太太身子不爽快	The <b>Fourth Mistress</b> isn't feeling well	
99	530. 老爷说让您去给四太太捏捏后背	and the Master wants you to give <b>her</b> a back massage	Replaced with pronoun
100	531. 四太太怎么知道我会捏	How does <b>she</b> know I am good at massage?	Replaced with pronoun
101	544. 四太太	Yes, <b>Fourth Mistress</b>	

102	558. 老爷， 二太太有事找您	Master the <b>Second Mistress</b> is here to see you	
103	565. 管家，明个儿请高医生到府上 给四太太好好看看	Go get Doctor Gao here to check the <b>Fourth Mistress</b> tomorrow	
104	567. 高医生，给四太太看完病了 看好了 高医生，请	Are you done, Doctor Gao?	Omitted
105	571. 噢，是三太太	<b>Third Mistress</b>	
106	578. 高医生 噢，二太太	Doctor Gao! <b>Second Mistress!</b>	
107	586. 陈老爷， 四太太没有身孕	Master the <b>Fourth Mistress</b> isn't pregnant	
108	588. 我已然仔细检查过 四太太确实没有身孕	I checked her carefully <b>She</b> isn't pregnant	Replaced with pronoun
109	602. 你眼里都有什么人，你把我们这 些当太太的 往哪儿搁	Do you have any respect for the <b>mistresses</b> ?	
110	609. 封了灯 我也是太太	I am still the <b>Fourth Mistress</b> regardless my lanterns are off	
111	610. 我告诉你太太就是太太，丫鬟就 是丫鬟	I am the <b>Mistress</b> and she is the savant nothing could change that	Replaced with pronoun
112			
113	616. 太太吩咐 你认个错就放你起来	The <b>First Mistress</b> said you could get up if you admit you did wrong	
114	624. 真看不出， 四太太比谁都恶	Never thought the <b>Fourth Mistress</b> is so vicious!	
115	642. 她偷著挂灯笼，就挂去呗 不就是丫鬟想做太太梦吗	She is just a savant dreaming of becoming a <b>mistress</b>	
116	662. 四太太	<b>Fourth Mistress...</b>	
117	666. 你去给我买些酒来 什么？四太太，我没听清楚	Go get me some liqueur for me What did you say?	Omitted
118	671. 四太太，酒打回来了	Here is the liqueur	Omitted
119	678. 生死是天命，怪不着太太	She can't blame <b>you</b> , it's her destiny	Replaced with pronoun
120	685. 哎呀四太太，你别喝了 你看你已经醉了呀	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> , you'd stop drinking! You're drunk!	
121	688. 大少爷，快去劝劝四太太吧 喝酒都喝醉	Please talk to the <b>Fourth Mistress</b> She's drunk!	
122	720. 四太太	<b>Fourth Mistress</b> please don't drink anymore!	
123	722. 去，喊大太太拿解酒药来	Go get some medicine from the <b>First Mistress</b>	
124	731. 三太太什么时候出去的 我不知道	When did the <b>Third Mistress</b> leave? We don't know	
125	747. 是三太太和那个高医生啊 在城里的旅馆里	The <b>Third Mistress</b> and Doctor Gao met in a hotel downtown.....	
126	748. 被二太太带着人给堵住了	The <b>Second Mistress</b>	

127	二太太让人把门踹开的时候， 他俩还在被窝里呢	caught them together in bed....	Omitted
128	750. 刚才二太太说什么 她说是我说的	Why did the <b>Second Mistress</b> say I told her about Meishan and Doctor Gao?	
129	751. 是啊，四太太，	You did	Omitted
130	752. 您昨天喝醉了 说三太太要去会相好	You told her when you were drunk yesterday	Omitted
131	762. 四太太，快回去歇着吧，小心受 凉咯	Go inside, or you might catch cold	Omitted
132	778. 三太太的屋里的灯亮了	The lanterns in the third quarter are lit!	Omitted
133	779. 不知道谁呀 把三太太屋里的灯给点亮了	Who lit the lanterns in <b>Third Mistress'</b> quarter?	
134	781. 闹鬼了， 三太太阴魂不散	It must be her spirit the <b>Third Mistress'</b> spirit!	
135	783. 三太太唱戏？是三太太唱戏 闹鬼了，鬼呀，闹鬼了，鬼呀...	The <b>Third Mistress</b> is singing now!	
136		Her spirit is singing now, it's haunted!	Omitted
137	784. 管家陈百顺拜见五太太 恭贺五太太新婚大喜	I, the housekeeper welcome the <b>Fifth Mistress</b>	
138			Omitted
139	786. 噢，以前的四太太 脑子有毛病了	She was our <b>fourth Mistress</b>	

**Table 2 Translation of term of address *laoye* from *Raise the Red Lantern*<sup>8</sup>**

	ST with <i>laoye</i>	TT	Ways of translation
1	31.恭喜 <b>老爷</b> ,	Congratulations	Omitted
2	恭喜 <b>老爷</b> 大喜	<b>mister</b> It is a big day for you	mister
3	46.三太太病了, 请 <b>老爷</b> 去	Third Madam is sick and she asks for <b>you</b> ....	Replaced with pronoun
4	53. <b>老爷</b> 走了, <b>老爷</b> 进三院?	Is the <b>Master</b> leaving for the third Mistress?	
5	哦		Omitted
6	63.要不, 先到三院 见过 <b>老爷</b> 吧	Let's go to greet the <b>master</b> at the third quarter	
7	64. <b>老爷</b> 跟三太太还没起来, 要不待会儿再来吧	<b>They</b> are not up yet we'll come back in a while	Replaced with pronoun
8	74.好生侍候 <b>老爷</b>	and be good to the <b>Mister</b>	Mister
9	106. <b>老爷</b> 要住哪院	It only lands on whomever the <b>mister</b> spends the night with	mister
10	122.昨晚是你什么日子呀 能大半夜就把 <b>老爷</b> 叫走吗	It was very disrespectful that she get the <b>master</b> away	
11	125.什么病啊 哼, <b>老爷</b> 惯出的毛病	Yes, right She's too spoiled to feel good!	Omitted
12	126. <b>老爷</b> 走了 刚走	Did the <b>Mister</b> leave? He just did	Mister
13	136.是 <b>老爷</b> 分给您房里的丫环, 以后 是她侍候您 有事儿尽管吩咐	The <b>Master</b> assigned her to be your maid	
14	152.你可不能这样, 看著 <b>老爷</b> 喜欢你 就想当太太了?	The <b>Master</b> like you, it doesn't mean that you will become one of his wives	
15	153.就算 <b>老爷</b> 这次不娶 四太太也不会是你	If she wasn't married to the <b>master</b> wife # 4 wouldn't have been you, either	
16	158. <b>老爷</b> , 三太太马上就到	The Third Mistress is coming	Omitted
17	169.回 <b>老爷</b> , 今儿晌午预备的有	<b>Master</b> , today we have...	
18	177.四太太, <b>老爷</b> 吩咐下来 叫四太太到大门口听招呼	Fourth Mistress, <b>Master</b> asks you to wait by the door for instructions	
19	180.看 <b>老爷</b> 睡觉前 还有什么吩咐没有	just to hear if <b>Master</b> may have anything to say before bed time	
20	181. <b>老爷</b> 有什么吩咐说就是了 干嘛要去大门口啊	<b>He</b> could come to tell us why should we wait outside?	Replaced with pronoun
21	191.三太太说, 她病又犯了 叫 <b>老爷</b> 过去	Third Mistress is sick again and she	

<sup>8</sup> Note: The term of address *laoye* in the ST and its corresponding English subtitles are marked with bold letters. The last column is left blank if the translation of 'Master' is applied.

		wants the <b>master</b> to go over to see her	
22	197.老爷, 我怕回去不好交代	I can't tell her that!	Omitted
23	221.老爷您早啊, 老爷走了?	The <b>Master</b> is leaving!	Omitted
24	灭灯	Put off the lanterns!	
25	227.别以为老爷摸你一把	because the <b>master</b> touched you	
26	247.老爷愿意去哪院, 去就是了	The <b>master</b> could come and go as he pleases	
27	265.老爷进城去了 吩咐四位太太自己吃	The <b>Master's</b> out and there is no need to wait for him for lunch	
28	274.咳, 这事儿谁能说的清 随着老爷兴趣吧	Who knows what exactly goes on! It's all up to <b>him</b>	Replaced with pronoun
29	304.老爷回来啦 怎么也不叫人通报一声	<b>Master</b> , you are back How come you don't call us?	
30	305.噢, 我也是刚刚进门 老爷辛苦	No worse, I just arrived <b>Master</b> , you must be tired	
31	310.老爷回来了	The <b>master's</b> back	
32	320.还不是老爷身上的一件衣裳 想穿就穿, 想脱就脱呗	I'm one of the <b>Master's</b> robes that could be put on or taken off as he likes	
33	321.老爷, 我还想再给你生个儿子	<b>Master</b> , I want to bare your son	
34	338.谁呀 老爷	Who is it? <b>Master</b>	
35	346.老爷请几位太太先用	The <b>Master</b> said that you Mistresses go ahead and eat	
36	347.老爷说他不过来吃了 叫把饭端到四太太房里去	<b>He</b> isn't joining you and dishes will be taken to the Fourth Mistress' room	Replaced with pronoun
37	379.你去问问老爷	You could check with the <b>Master</b>	
38	435.我跟老爷说我老了 你猜老爷怎么说	I said to <b>him</b> that I am getting old Guess what <b>he</b> relied?	Replaced with pronoun
39			Replaced with pronoun
40	437.老爷既然都这么说了 你说我能不剪吗?	I must wear short hair since <b>he</b> had said so	Replaced with pronoun
41	467.四妹, 你刚来 老爷对你的新鲜劲儿还没过去	You're new here and the <b>Master</b> hasn't get tired of you yet	
42	472.老爷, 您昨儿才来了一个晚上	<b>Master</b> you just spent one night with me.....	
43	489.这些日子 老爷也不会一直守著我呀	the <b>Master</b> wouldn't have stay with me for a few nights	
44	508.老爷大喜了 这回又得添个大胖少爷了	Congratulations, <b>Master</b> You'll have another son.....	
45	509.恭喜老爷! 老爷, 照老规矩 从今天开始,	Going by our customs lanterns should be lit day	Omitted
46			Omitted
47	527.二太太, 老爷吩咐	Second Mistress, <b>Master</b> wants	

	您吃完饭到四院去一趟	you to come to the fourth quarter now	
48	530.老爷说让您去给四太太捏捏后背	and the <b>Master</b> wants you to give her a back massage	
49	532.咳，这还用问吗，当然是老爷说给四妹的	The <b>master</b> must have told her	
50	533.是老爷的意思吗	Is it <b>Master's</b> idea?	
51	老爷就这么吩咐的	Yes, the <b>master</b> said so	
52	535.把你伺候老爷的那套本事，都使出来吗，不会吃亏的	and give her a good message just like what you do for the <b>master</b>	
53	536.你把四妹伺候好了老爷不也高兴了	The <b>master</b> will be nice to you if fourth sister is pleased	
54	558.老爷，二太太有事找您	<b>Master</b> the Second Mistress is here to see you	
55	559.老爷，我看，四妹这两天气色不大好，	<b>Master</b> , Fourth sister doesn't look too good lately	
56	566.是，老爷	Yes, <b>Master</b>	
57	568.陈老爷在哪儿？我有话要跟他说	Where is the <b>Master</b> ? I need to speak to him	
58	580.还是跟老爷说吧	I should talk with the <b>master</b> first	
59	586.陈老爷，四太太没有身孕	<b>Master</b> the Fourth Mistress isn't pregnant	
60	594.封灯 老爷，您说什么	Put out the lanterns and cover it What did you say, <b>Master</b> ?	
61	608.四妹别嫌我把话说白了 你不也刚被老爷封了灯吗	Frankly, I'd remind you that your lanterns had just been put off and covered	Omitted
62	611.今几个老爷不在 当着陈家上上下下，这些人的面，你说句话	Big sister, you are in charge the family now since the <b>Master</b> isn't home now	
63	623.噢，老爷也回来了 说是不行啊，就赶紧送医院	The <b>Master's</b> back and said to send Yang to hospital	
64	626.管家 是，老爷	Housekeeper Yes, <b>Master</b>	
65	664.老爷啊，叫我来伺候您 说不再找丫鬟了	<b>Master</b> has assigned me to be your maid from now on	
66	701.只要老爷天天到我这儿 日子久了	but it would have become real if the <b>Master</b> spent the nights	
67	719.老爷	<b>Master</b> !	
68	726.你有老爷疼你，	The <b>Master</b> is yours now	
69	741.老爷不在家 又闹成这个样子	The <b>Master</b> is away and she is completely out of control	
70	767.老爷来了 老爷	The <b>Master</b> is back	
71			Omitted

## Appendix 5 Questionnaire



### **Questionnaire: An investigation of the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers**

Please answer the following questions about yourself, your understanding of the selected excerpts from Chinese films, and your opinion on the quality of their subtitling. Tick the most relevant box unless it is stated otherwise or answer the question in the space provided. The whole process will take about 45 minutes.

Please note that if you have not completed a consent form you should not take part in this survey: we will not be able to include any responses received without a valid consent form.

Note: The Chinese language in this questionnaire refers to “Mandarin Chinese”, which is the language used in these films.

#### **a) Personal details and background information**

1. Age group:

☐ 18—24    ☐ 25—34    ☐ 35—60    ☐ Over 60

2. Gender:

☐ Male    ☐ Female    ☐ Other

3. Occupation:

☐ Student  
☐ Employed  
☐ Unemployed  
☐ Retired

4. Educational level (the highest level attained):

☐ A-Level or below  
☐ Undergraduate  
☐ Master  
☐ PhD or above

5. Your language skills:

☐ Native English speaker (go to question 6)  
☐ Native Chinese speaker (go to question 7)

6. Do you have any knowledge of the Chinese language?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

7. Had you previously watched any of these films? (tick all relevant boxes)

- ☐ Red Sorghum (1987)  
☐ Ju Dou (1990)  
☐ Raise the Red Lantern (1992)  
☐ None of them

8. How often do you watch Chinese films?

- ☐ Frequently  
☐ Occasionally  
☐ Rarely  
☐ I have never watched any Chinese film.

9. Are you familiar with Chinese culture?

- ☐ I am very familiar with Chinese culture (go to question 10)  
☐ I am quite familiar with Chinese culture (go to question 10)  
☐ I have some basic knowledge of Chinese culture (go to question 10)  
☐ I am not familiar with Chinese culture at all (go to section b)

10. In what way are you familiar with Chinese culture? (Tick only the most relevant box)

- ☐ I am native Chinese.  
☐ I have Chinese family members or friends.  
☐ I have visited China or have lived in China before.  
☐ I am interested in Chinese culture and have learned about it through media, please specify \_\_\_\_\_ (e.g. translated literature, films or television programmes).

## **b) Subtitles in the selected excerpts of Chinese films**

***1. Please watch the first excerpt from the Chinese film Red Sorghum (1987) and answer the following questions.***

This film tells the story of a young woman, Jiu'er (Little Nine), who is about to marry an old man, the owner of a distillery. She falls in love with the man, who carries her sedan after he rescues her from a bandit attack. The film is narrated in the first person by Jiu'er's grandson long after her death.

11. In the beginning of the film, what do you think she holds a pair of scissors for?

(Up to 20 words)

12. How do you understand "the ninth day of the seventh month" in the English subtitle?

- ☐ It is the same day as the 9<sup>th</sup> of Jul. Maybe the subtitler's preference of translation.



- ☐ It is a literal translation of what the narrator has said.
- ☐ It is a different day to the 9<sup>th</sup> of Jul., based on the Chinese lunar calendar.
- ☐ I am not sure.

13. From what “my grandfather” (the only carrier that was hired) said, how would you describe his characteristics?

(Up to 20 words)

14. How do you understand the intention of the carriers to “jolt the bride”?

- ☐ They are unhappy that she won’t sing for them.
- ☐ They just follow a custom to jolt the bride.
- ☐ They jolt the bride and play the trumpets to create an atmosphere of happiness.
- ☐ They intend to evoke imagery related to sexual intercourse.

15. How did you make that decision?

- ☐ Based on my understanding of the subtitles.
- ☐ Based on my understanding of the images and the soundtrack.
- ☐ It’s my assumption based on existing knowledge of Chinese culture.
- ☐ I did not get it at all.

**II. Please watch the second excerpt from *Ju Dou* (1990) and answer the following questions.**

This film is set in the 1920s in rural China. Judou is purchased as a wife by the old owner of a dye factory, Yang Jinshan. Yang Tianqing, the adoptive nephew of Jinshan, is enamoured with her. Tianqing and Judou have an affair and she gives birth to a son, Tianbai. She tricks her husband into believing the son to be his. When Jinshan discovers the truth, he has a stroke and is paralysed. Whilst playing with the child, Jinshan accidentally falls in a dye vat and drowns. His death leads to gossip among the villagers about the relationship between Judou and her lover, which drives the child, now a teenager, to drown his father in the same dye vat. This excerpt is from when Judou gives birth to her son. The old men in the village name the newborn baby.

16. What does the colour red symbolise in this excerpt?

- ☐ Passionate sex
- ☐ Rebellion against the feudal system
- ☐ Birth of a new life
- ☐ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

17. Why does the colour red symbolise the answer you chose?

(Up to 20 words)

18. In the excerpt, what does “A wine jar, one with a handle” refer to?

(Up to 20 words)

19. “Tianbai sky white. Tianqing sky green. These two names fit together perfectly for this generation of Yang family.” Why is that?

- ☐ These two names both relate to colours.
- ☐ These two names both start with Tian (sky) so they sound poetic.
- ☐ These two names compose a set phrase in Chinese.
- ☐ I don’t know.

20. How did you make that decision?

- ☐ Based on my understanding of the subtitles.
- ☐ Based on my understanding of the visual images or soundtrack.
- ☐ It’s my assumption based on existing knowledge of Chinese culture.
- ☐ I didn’t get it at all.

21. Why does she want contraception?

- ☐ She is afraid of other people’s gossip.
- ☐ She doesn’t want a baby with her husband.
- ☐ She doesn’t want a baby with her lover.
- ☐ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

22. How do you describe the relationship between Judou and Tianqing? (tick the most relevant box)

- ☐ It is a socially unacceptable affair
- ☐ It is a love- or sex-oriented relationship
- ☐ He is in love with her; she wants to escape the tyranny of her husband.
- ☐ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**III. Please watch the third excerpt from *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992) and answer the following questions.**

A nineteen-year-old college-educated girl, Songlian, marries into a wealthy family and becomes the Fourth Mistress of Mr. Chen. She soon discovers that only the mistress whom the master spends the night with gets lanterns lit, receives the foot massage, has her choice of food at the dining table, and receives the most attention and respect from the servants. The Mistresses all constantly compete with each other. In order to gain her husband’s attention and survive the intrigues of the other three wives, Songlian feigns pregnancy, which was later exposed and caused her to become emotionally traumatised.

23. Why light red lanterns in the room?

- ☐ To make the face of the bride look pretty.
- ☐ To make the colour of the room more beautiful.
- ☐ To use it as a sign of privilege.

☐ I have no idea.

24. How did you make that decision?

☐ Based on my understanding of the subtitles.

☐ Based on my understanding of the visual images or soundtrack.

☐ It's my assumption based on existing knowledge of Chinese culture.

☐ I didn't get it at all.

25. How do you understand the relationship between "A woman is in good shape", "if her feet are taken care of" and "knows how to better serve her man"?

(Up to 20 words)

26. Why does the Master particularly mention, "Educated girls sure look different"?

(Up to 20 words)

27. How would you describe the difference in social status between Songlian and the other Mistresses/wives?

☐ They are equal in social status as they are all legally married to Master Chen.

☐ Only the first wife is legally married. The others are mistresses.

☐ While they are all legally married to Master Chen, their social status depends on the attention of their husband.

☐ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**c) Overview of the Subtitles in all excerpts (Tick the most relevant box)**

28. What do you think of the subtitles in these films in general?

☐ Satisfactory

☐ They could be better

☐ Unsatisfactory

29. What criteria did you use to arrive to your conclusion?

☐ Amount of information that the subtitles have provided

☐ Coherence of the meaning of the subtitles

☐ Technical constraints, e.g. synchronisation of the subtitles and the actors' speech or the duration for which each subtitle remains on screen

☐ General linguistic quality

30. Have the cultural-specific references been sufficiently translated in the English subtitles?

- ☐ Yes  
☐ No  
☐ Not sure

31. What do you value most as markers of Chinese culture in subtitles?

- ☐ Translation of interjections, such as 'yeah', 'ya', 'la' in *Red Sorghum*  
☐ Translation of metaphors, such as 'wine jar' 'handle' in *Ju Dou*  
☐ Translation of swearwords  
☐ Translation of people's titles and other terms of address

32. Would you prefer the songs in the films to be translated in the subtitles?

- ☐ Yes  
☐ No  
☐ It depends on the genre of the film  
☐ It depends on the type/role of the song in the plot

33. Why is that?

- ☐ They help me understand the film better.  
☐ They help me understand the culture of the original dialogue.  
☐ They sound good so I want to understand the lyrics.  
☐ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you very much for your participation!**

**Lin Chen (chenl1@roehampton.ac.uk)**

If further information is needed for this research, I might need to contact you. Please provide one of your contact details. This information will not be published and will not be shared in any way.

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Postal address: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 6 Participant Consent Form



### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

**Title of Research Project:** Subtitling Culture: An investigation of the effect of subtitled Chinese films on British viewers

#### **Brief Description of Research Project, and What Participation Involves:**

This research attempts to explore the effect that Audiovisual Translation has on the comprehension of a specific culture and its films on a foreign audience. More specifically, it considers the comprehension of Chinese culture through Chinese films subtitled into English. It combines the textual analysis of subtitles of selected films with empirical research on the effect of the subtitles on audiences through the use of questionnaire. Three Chinese films, all directed by Zhang Yimou, *Red Sorghum* (1987), *Ju Dou* (1990) and *Raise the Red Lantern* (1992), are used as case studies, both for the textual analysis and the study of end-users' reactions.

I intend for around twelve native Chinese-speaking and twelve English-speaking participants (resident in the UK and with English as their first language) to take part in this survey. One excerpt (about 4 minutes) is selected from each of the three Chinese films mentioned above. These excerpts will be shown to participants on two different days at the University of Roehampton. You can choose your preferred slot from these two options.

The whole process will take approximate 45 minutes. Firstly, you will be asked to fill in socio-demographic information, such as your age, gender and occupation etc. Secondly, the three excerpts will be played one after another. You will be asked to answer a few questions shown in the questionnaire after you have watched each excerpt. The questionnaire, which includes a link for direct participants to view the three excerpts, will be available online if you are unable to attend the study physically on the two specified dates. The questions will particularly focus on your understanding of the culture-specific references relating to the issue of gender roles, sexuality and family traditions in the films. This research aims to obtain data on British and Chinese viewers' interpretations of these issues in the films.

Participants need to be aged 18 or over to take part in this survey. Your participation is highly appreciated. However, I will not be able to offer you any actual benefits for taking part in this survey. Signing the consent form implies that you agree to watch the film excerpts and take part in the survey. Filled questionnaires will be stored securely in a locked cabinet. The processed data will be stored on the N drive of the researcher's account at the University of Roehampton (the N drive is the account used by Roehampton students and staff to store files and can only be accessed by the user with their password). Your email address provided

at the end of the questionnaire will be used for further contact if necessary, but it is not necessary to provide it. You have the right to withdraw from this project at any time by simply exiting the survey. After completion of the survey and consent form, if you want to withdraw your data before the raw data is processed, you can still do so by sending an email to the following email address, which is also provided at the bottom of the Questionnaire. However, your data may still be used in a collated form and it will not be possible to remove data from a written-up report.

**Investigator Contact Details:**

Name: Lin Chen  
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Postcode: SW15 5PU  
Email: chenl1@roehampton.ac.uk  
Telephone: 07833469376

**Consent Statement:**

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason, although if I do so I understand that my data might still be used in a collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings, and that data will be collected and processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

Name .....

Signature .....

Date .....

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.) However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department.

**Director of Studies Contact Details:**

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